It Seems to Heywood Broun

The Nation

Vol. CXXX, No. 3379 Founded 1865 Wednesday, April 9, 1930

Religion in Russia

by Louis Fischer

My Dear Senator

II

by Oswald Garrison Villard

Hope for Haiti—*an Editorial*

The Haiti Commission's Report

in the International Relations Section

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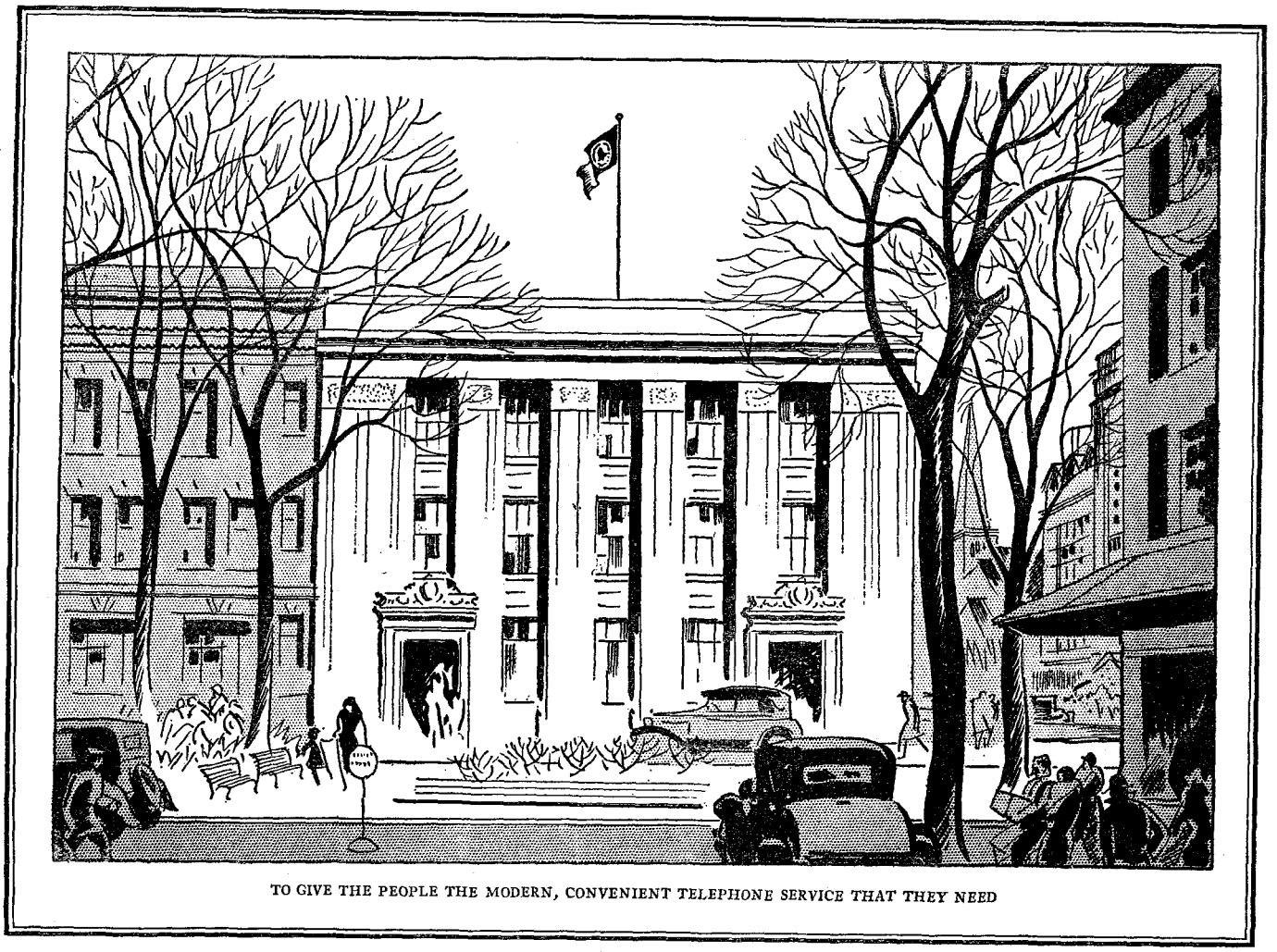

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The Nation

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OPPOSITION TO JOHN J. PARKER as an associate justice of the Supreme Court, for which position he has been nominated by President Hoover, is gathering headway. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has given notice that the federation will oppose the confirmation of Judge Parker on the ground of his hostile attitude toward organized labor as shown particularly in the so-called Red Jacket case. In this case Judge Parker, sitting as a member of the United States Circuit Court for the Fourth District, sustained an application for an injunction restraining the United Mine Workers' organization from soliciting members among miners who had signed "yellow-dog" contracts. A "yellow-dog" contract, it may be explained, is one in which the employee agrees not to join a union. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has also called Judge Parker to account for his alleged hostility to Negro voters. In his campaign for the governorship of North Carolina, in 1920, he was reported by the Greensboro *Daily News* as saying that "the Negro as a class does not desire to enter politics," that "the Republican Party of North Carolina does not desire him to do so," and that "the participation of the Negro in politics is a source of evil and danger to both races." It will be interesting to see how Judge Parker meets such serious attacks upon his fitness for a place one of whose requirements is an open and impartial mind.

THE TARIFF BILL IS FINISHED, so far as the Senate is concerned, but the mischief that it will do abroad is only just beginning to make itself felt. So high are the duties that have been placed upon lace that the entire lace industry of France is in despair. About four million dollars' worth of lace has been imported into this country every year. The cutting off of this market means misery, if not starvation, to the French lace workers. What does your hard-boiled, log-rolling legislator in Washington care for the sufferings of other people? Unfortunately for this cold-hearted attitude the protest of the French lace-makers has already so stirred the French government that it is again planning extreme tariff duties on American automobiles and parts of automobiles, against which American manufacturers have been protesting on the ground that it would absolutely shut them out of the French market. In Spain, too, they are studying the situation to see what action they shall take to discriminate against American goods. European manufacturers everywhere are trying to ascertain how much they must further reduce wages and standards of living so that their goods may leap over our tariff walls, and European statesmen are once more wondering how in the world they are going to pay the debts they owe us when we have made it so much harder for them to produce the goods. As a creator of ill-will against the United States our tariff legislation is unsurpassed.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE on March 24 began suit in the United States District Court at St. Louis to prevent the proposed merger of the Standard Oil Company of New York and the Vacuum Oil Company announced in our issue of March 5. This action, contemplated by the companies, raises again the primary issue of the meaning of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The Supreme Court in the Standard Oil cases in 1911 decided that the act prohibited only "unreasonable" restraint of trade, but held that the union of the Standard companies constituted an unreasonable restraint and ordered the union dissolved. Two of these great companies now bring the issue again up to the bar of the Supreme Court, practically calling upon it to decide whether a union illegal in 1911 is still illegal in 1930. Public opinion has changed greatly during the intervening decades, and it would not be surprising if the court found some ground for a practical, though not an avowed, reversal of its earlier decision. The old trust-busting days are gone, and we are faced with the problem whether or not we can devise effective methods of controlling these monsters in the public interest, since we cannot prevent their growth. We have repeatedly pointed out the impossibility of effective control by competition; again and again we have seen the failure of control by commission. What alternative remains but actual public ownership and operation with all its difficulties?

ALIEN REGISTRATION is threatening us once more. We are advised by the American Civil Liberties Union that contrary to earlier reports the Blease bill for "voluntary" registration, which appeared dead when we went to press two weeks ago, may be reported out at any

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time by the Senate committee. We earnestly urge upon our readers the continuance of every effort to express opposition to this vicious measure and to every other proposal calling for registration of our alien residents. Protests should be addressed to Senator Arthur R. Gould, chairman of the Senate Immigration Committee. This is an issue of importance to all friends of our traditional American liberties, and they must not let themselves be caught napping. The enemy is forever at the gates.

AS A HAPPY FAMILY the Pennsylvania Republicans take the prize. The campaign there for the Senatorial and gubernatorial nominations now in full swing bids fair to be as exciting and bloody as any prize-ring contest could possibly be. One candidate for Governor, Samuel E. Lewis, has already retired and run to cover. Mr. Lewis was on the Grundy ticket, but Grundy himself refuses to say die. Indeed, miraculous as it seems, Grundy is denouncing that power in Pennsylvania politics, General W. W. Atterbury, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, in terms unequaled since Theodore Roosevelt described the national Republican leaders as a set of thieves and robbers. For the moment Mr. Grundy talks just like a Progressive. Declaring that the most corrupt period in our history was that in which the big railroads dominated our political life, Mr. Grundy says that General Atterbury is seeking to put the railroads again in control of politics; that the General was made Republican chairman by grace of Messrs. Cunningham, Hall, and Salus, "with all the political mismanagement and corruption they represent." Meanwhile Gifford Pinchot is dancing around the ring getting in body blows on all of them when they are not looking and calling this same trio representatives of the "very worst in politics." The Democrats are now after Secretary Davis's scalp, charging him with being illegally a candidate since he is no longer a resident of the State, and Secretary Davis, conscious of his own sublime virtue, has struck hands with Vare. Meanwhile Mr. Cunningham charges Senator Grundy with having unloaded upon the State at "fabulous prices" pieces of land at Valley Forge upon which Washington never camped. This is Pennsylvania—the State which Mr. Grundy declares is one of the few fitted to rule the Union!

FREE SPEECH reared its provocative head in the Massachusetts legislature recently and was promptly suppressed, but the fight which preceded the suppression revealed strange enemies and stranger friends. Francis G. Goodale introduced a bill in the House designed to set aside certain portions of Boston Common and other public parks throughout the State in which speeches might be made without license or permit, though with certain other restrictions and subject to the existing statutes. The bill, which had as its sponsor the Civil Liberties Committee of Massachusetts, provided for a relatively mild form of free speech. It was favorably reported from committee, where William G. Thompson, among others, spoke for it. On the floor of the House, Joseph Finnegan, a new member from a Boston district, led the fight for free speech. He was assisted by another Irish Catholic member, John P. Connolly. The opposition came mainly from Mayor Curley's supporters in the House. Lewis R. Sullivan, Jr., said it was "a Communist bill" and clinched his point by identifying Mr. Goodale as a law partner of Arthur D. Hill, "who, we remember, was last counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti"; another protestant enlarged upon "the danger of having our daughters go down to Boston Common and hear birth-control speeches." When a standing vote was taken the score was 59 to 58 in favor of free speech. It was at this point that Leverett Saltonstall, Republican leader and Speaker of the House, through whose veins runs some of New England's bluest blood, went over to the Curley contingent, and, by creating a tie, forced a roll call. The corridors were canvassed and in the final vote free speech on Boston Common was beaten by 134 votes to 81.

NEW YORK, LOS ANGELES, and Buffalo win highest prizes for disorderly conduct in the unemployment riots on March 6. And of these three, New York is first, with fifty persons injured and five Communists charged with unlawful assembly and conspiracy to commit assault. A survey by the American Civil Liberties Union showed that in 38 cities demonstrations on that day took place; that 16 of these reported no trouble whatever; that in the remaining 22, 155 persons were injured enough to require medical attention; that 265 persons were arrested, of whom more than half were at once released, no charges having been made against them; that minor charges were made against 114 persons, and 22 convictions have already been reported, with small fines or jail sentences. After New York's fifty injured, came Pittsburgh with twenty-five, Cleveland with twenty, Detroit with fourteen, and Milwaukee with thirteen. Thus the great Communist demonstration, in which this government was to be threatened with overthrow by force and violence, petered out into a general disorder in which a good many thousands of men and women, inspired largely by idle curiosity, stood around and listened to fiery speeches and were presently turned into more or less fighting mobs by the night sticks of the policemen. We are willing, as we mentioned above, to give the booby prize to New York; but if there could be a medal for sanity, humor in dealing with a dangerous situation, justice to all classes, and plain ordinary horse sense, it ought to go to the Free City of Baltimore. A parade was held in Baltimore; police protected it to the number of thrice the marchers; when the embattled Communists refused to ask for a permit, the chief of police gave them one on a silver platter. There was not one broken head. New York police commissioners please copy.

GOVERNOR BILBO OF MISSISSIPPI has won the pardoning championship of the country by issuing to Carl Marshall, an attorney, two pardons, the first a couple of minutes after the State's House of Representatives had ordered the man's arrest, and both before he had been taken into custody. The House voted to put Marshall in jail for contempt, but when the sergeant-at-arms went after him he presented a pardon on which the ink was hardly dry. As the pardon was addressed to nobody in particular, the House instructed its deputy to present himself again before Marshall, whereupon the lawyer produced a second pardon, directed specifically to the sergeant-at-arms. Then the House voted that the Governor had no authority to issue a pardon in a case of contempt and ordered the sergeant-at-arms to arrest Marshall, even if he had a pardon in every

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pocket. But by that time the lawyer had fled, to appear later in New Orleans as a "political refugee." The House wanted to know from Marshall who got $80,000 which he received from Warren Brothers, a road-material firm of Boston, to stop an anti-trust suit. As an attorney Marshall may be within his rights in refusing information. As a governor Bilbo may or may not have the right of pardon in a contempt case—it is a disputed question. But certainly he was too much in a hurry.

THE BATTLE among the mine workers inaugurated by the insurgent convention at Springfield reported in our issue of March 26 goes merrily forward. The regular convention meeting at Indianapolis under President John L. Lewis listened to an address by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, denouncing dual unionism, declaring that "the United Mine Workers of America—this United Mine Workers of America here—is the only organization recognized by the American Federation of Labor," declaring that the federation would not take the initiative in a "family quarrel," but expressing a desire to bring about solidarity and union. Mr. Lewis was sustained in a tumultuous meeting and on March 26, in accordance with a resolution passed by the convention, he revoked the charter of District 14 of Kansas. This action automatically deposes Alexander Howat, district president, who was chosen to head the Springfield organization. It is noteworthy, however, that the Illinois union, which embraces about three-fourths of the dues-paying members of the bituminous branch of the organization, is not excommunicated. Mr. Lewis needs its money and its support against the Springfield organization, which now claims to be the real miners' union. The question where authority does actually lie will probably have to be settled in court. In any case, the Lewis leadership has been thoroughly discredited by the disasters of the years just past, and all friends of intelligent unionism must hope for a new deal.

"THE OUTBREAK was from the beginning an attack by Arabs on the Jews, for which no excuse in the form of earlier murders by Jews has been established," says the British commission of inquiry in fixing the immediate responsibility for the riots in Palestine last summer. Absolving the Arab executive as a body of deliberate incitement to disorder, but holding individual members of that group by no means guiltless, the commission likewise frees Mr. H. C. Luke, acting high commissioner, of blame for his much-criticized action, or rather inaction, at the outbreak of the disorders, but holds that the Palestine government should have suspended newspapers that published numerous intemperate articles previous to the riots. The charge that the Palestine government was weak and generally unsympathetic with the legitimate aspirations of the Zionists the commission meets by pointing to "the difficulties inherent in the mandate and the failure to appreciate the dual nature of the policy which the government has to administer." The commission wisely urges the issuance without delay of a clear-cut comprehensible statement of policy, and also makes recommendations regarding self-government, immigration, and land tenure which indicate an appreciation of the importance of those matters in any effort to work out a permanent solution of the problem.

A LABOR ULTIMATUM to the MacDonald Cabinet, giving the Government fourteen days from March 26 in which to show what it intended to do about unemployment, should bring matters to a head if the unemployment crisis, admittedly the worst since 1921 and getting more serious, can be met by legislation. The total number of British unemployed on March 25, according to official figures, was 1,621,800, an increase of 57,993 over the previous week and 439,346 more than a year before. Some of the increase, it is said, was due to the working of the new unemployment insurance act, but the main reason is the widespread industrial and business depression. In Lancashire, home of the cotton industry, 100,000 men and women have lost their jobs in the past three months, and notices of wage reductions in woolen establishments in the northern counties are imminent. The immediate response to the ultimatum was the adoption by the House of Commons of a resolution increasing by about £10,000,000 the unemployment insurance fund, but even this sum, it was admitted, would last only until November unless trade conditions improved.

THE REPORT THAT Philip La Follette, older brother of the present Senator, will become the Progressive candidate for Governor in Wisconsin shows that the Progressives feel they must play their strongest card. It is a dangerous gamble, but well worth the risk, for defeat could not mean that Philip La Follette would not still have a career before him. The Progressive movement in that State needs new blood and bold aggressive leadership. It needs to eschew the old party methods, and above all it needs to map out a new economic program far in advance of that upon which the senior La Follette stood in his triumphant campaigns. We hear rumors of the coming of a labor party in Wisconsin with which the Socialists might become affiliated. We hope it may come to pass, and that the Progressives in that State will cooperate with it.

THE MILLENNIUM for ages five to twelve has arrived! Unfortunately, it came to as distant a place as Copenhagen, so that American young ones will not have much opportunity to benefit by it. But we recommend it to the attention of a benevolent government for possible imitation. It appears that on April 2 the children of Copenhagen were permitted to celebrate the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Hans Christian Andersen. And they celebrated, not by suffering dull speeches from their elders and themselves reciting selections from his works in the schoolroom, but in a proper way for the writer of childhood's fairy stories. The news dispatch describing the projected holiday says: "Lemonade and orangeade will gush forth from public fountains all day, while at all the schools and other public places free chocolate and candies of all sorts will be distributed. To enable them to do full justice to this treat, all the children will have a holiday." We repeat, the date on which this fete day was celebrated was April 2. If it had been April 1, we should not have believed a word of it, but should have considered it just another adult's idea of an April-fool joke to plague poor children. But April 2 is another matter. If it didn't happen, it should have, and we can think of nothing pleasanter to do on, say, the Fourth of July in the United States.

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Roping America at London

A GREAT surrender has been preparing at London. Ever since France injected into the discussion of naval reduction and limitation the question of security, it has been increasingly plain that that issue would have to be settled before anything else was done. M. Tardieu, of course, can hardly have cherished any illusion about making the United States a party to a security pact. M. Tardieu knows American history and the American temper extremely well and, being a realist, does not waste time thinking of the impossible. He might be able, however, to induce the United States to consult, to lend the weight of its counsel and its moral influence if peace were threatened, and even to give an intimation of what it was likely to do if its advice were disregarded. Some time, he may have thought, might be needed to bring this about, but if France only stood pat on the ultimatum that unless it could have more security it must have a bigger navy, there was a good chance of extracting from the conference not only a security pact but a consultative pact as well.

M. Tardieu may well have been encouraged to wait by contemplating the attitude of Mr. Stimson and the so-called "policy" of Mr. Hoover. Mr. Stimson's diplomacy at London has been of a peculiar order. He began by marching bravely up to within sight of the enemy and announcing, in his best English, that the United States had nothing definite to say but would be pleased to receive communications. This done, he retired to observe the effect of his manifesto. When nothing happened he started skirmishing at the center and on both flanks, but without gaining any territory or capturing any guns. From the middle of February until well past the Ides of March he did little but twirl his thumbs while the French were busy fighting an important action in the rear. As for Mr. Hoover, it was a safe guess that, having allowed the American delegation to set out for London with no preparation for the campaign, there would be no quarrel between the President and his Secretary of State, and that whatever Mr. Stimson decided eventually to hand out would, after the customary hesitation, be accepted at Washington.

The extraordinary statement which Mr. Stimson gave out hurriedly in the early hours of March 26 showed how well M. Tardieu and M. Briand had played their cards. A security pact to which the United States should be a party, Mr. Stimson let it be known, was definitely out of the picture; on that point the American delegation, which only a few weeks before was reported to be much divided, had not changed its mind. The United States would never "enter into any treaty, whether consultative or otherwise, where there is danger of its obligation being misunderstood as involving a promise to render military assistance or guaranteeing protection by military force to another nation." Such a misunderstanding, it was pointed out, might arise "if the United States entered into such a treaty as a *quid pro quo* for the reduction of the naval forces of another Power" —the very thing, of course, which France had suggested. "If, however," and here the Secretary's logic took on what he doubtless regarded as convincing force, "this demand for security could be satisfied in some other way, then the danger of a misunderstanding of a consultative pact would be eliminated, and in such case the question would be approached from an entirely different standpoint."

The first reaction of Washington to this pronouncement was surprise and bewilderment. The correspondent of the New York *Times* reported "what amounted to utter confusion" as prevailing; the correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune* found a "quagmire of contradiction." March 29, however, brought a statement from Mr. Cotton, Acting Secretary of State, issued with Mr. Hoover's approval, that "there are no differences of view between the President and our delegation at London," that the delegation was still working zealously for naval reduction and "the preservation of the peace of the world," and that "it is the high hope that a plan for so doing can be evolved which will meet the approval of the American people and will be consonant with our traditional policies and ideals." Had Mr. Hoover approved a consultative pact? Mr. Cotton did not say. Had such a pact been disavowed? Apparently not, for "there are no differences of view" between Mr. Hoover and the American delegation.

What is a consultative pact? Senator Borah promptly answered the question with his old-time clarity when he declared that it is "a security pact in disguise. In a security pact you state in the pact what you are going to do after you have consulted. In a consultative pact you conceal what you are going to do after you have consulted, but you will be forced by the logic of the hour to do precisely what you expressly agreed to do in the security pact." Is not the obligation, however, one that can be avoided? "A consultative pact," Senator Borah replied, "in which the parties would not go forward and do whatever would be necessary to be done in accordance with the realities of the situation would be a pious fraud."

Mr. Stimson's logic is as tawdry as the real nature of a consultative pact is clear. Great Britain, it is thought, may be persuaded to pledge something, if not actual military aid, that France will accept as security, or some general agreement may link security to the League of Nations. Does Mr. Stimson not know that the *quid pro quo* is not to be got rid of by dividing it, one Power or group of Powers promising force while America promises advice? Is anyone so blind as not also to see that more than advice is expected to come from a consultative pact? What France wants is American support in the next dispute that threatens war, and it may be relied on to do its utmost to maneuver America into granting such indirect but substantial aid as, for example, an embargo on commerce with the enemy.

Such is the tragic pass to which the United States has now been brought. America is in danger of being entangled in the politics of Europe by the device of getting it to consult. It is to be urged to take a hand in solving the problems of alliances, although alliances are a potent cause of war. As we go to press, a consultative pact is being looked to as a necessary sacrifice in order to save the conference. It is America that now needs security.

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Hope for Haiti

THE report of the President's commission to study conditions in Haiti is probably as good as could be expected, and if its recommendations are carried out promptly in good faith Haiti will be a happier land than it has been for two decades. We could wish that the commissioners had been franker in expressing the criticism of the American Occupation which their program implies; we could wish, too, that they had demanded the immediate replacement of our High Commissioner, General Russell, by a civilian minister, for we regard his continuing control, even though it be temporary, as more than likely to obstruct the changes that the commission recommends.

Yet the commission dared to do, despite considerable pressure by his imperial-minded subordinates, what President Hoover asked it to do. "The primary question which is to be investigated," he told the commission, "is when and how we are to withdraw from Haiti." We wish it had done only that. The President did not ask the commission to study the responsibilities of the past; and we think it would have done an honester and decenter job if it had omitted its painful effort to whitewash General Russell's character and record at the moment that it was asking he be removed. Perhaps he was "whole-hearted, single-minded . . . patient and painstaking," but his single mind was working on the wrong track and he is responsible for a shameful blot on the American scutcheon.

However, the positive program of the commission is definitely pointed right. Having caused the removal of the dictator whom General Russell had installed and supported, and promoted an agreement to name a new President pledged to honest and early elections, it recommends that General Russell be replaced—unfortunately not until autumn—by a civilian Minister, and that the new Minister devote himself to the rapid Haitianization of the Haitian government services.

There is a certain irony in the commission's praise of an American administration which had dissolved parliament and forced Haitians out of control of one department after another of their government. There is a certain absurdity in the commission's legalistic ideal of returning to the limited basis of Haitian-American relationship outlined in the treaty, for that treaty was forced down Haiti's throat as ruthlessly as any of the subsequent extensions of it. But the treaty expires in 1936, and the commission definitely posited that date as the time when the present regime should end. That is progress in fact, for to quote the report, which puts the truth very mildly indeed, "the acts and attitude of the treaty officials gave your commission the impression that they had been based upon the assumption that the Occupation would continue indefinitely." The important thing now is that the recommendations of the commission actually be put into effect.

The most significant phrase in the outline of "sequent steps" proposed is that in which the commission urges that "whether or not a certain loss of efficiency is entailed the new Minister to Haiti be charged with the duty of carrying out the early Haitianization of the services." Any neutral observer would dispute the "efficiency" of some of the departments mismanaged by Yankees, but the mild phrase of the commission has a deep meaning.

Some significant suggestions are buried modestly in the commission's report. Especially important is its recommendation that Haiti be permitted to return to its century-old prohibition of foreign ownership of land. And Haitians will welcome the suggestion that they be relieved of the various internal taxes unnecessarily imposed so as to speed payment of the foreign debt. So, too, the commission's recognition of the part played by race prejudice in the American failure in Haiti is encouraging, though it might, since it felt called upon to criticize the Haitian elite, have been franker in recording the incredible blindness of certain Southern officials who imported their color consciousness into the Negro republic.

Yet it is almost impossible to induce an official commission to criticize government officials, and this commission, compared with its various predecessors, has done well, though we could wish it had done much better. Its recommendations for the future are, after all, what counts most, and by implication they indorse the long and often solitary campaign of *The Nation* to set the American record in Haiti straight. Everything now depends upon the spirit in which those recommendations are carried out. There will, of course, be more of the sort of efforts to sabotage the work of the commission which some American officials indulged in during its stay in Haiti, and powerful forces are operating in opposition to its recommendations. The Hoover Administration must devote itself earnestly and energetically to execution of the "sequent steps" recommended in the report if actual results are to be accomplished. All Latin America is wondering whether the recommendations will really be carried out.

The Ocean to the Swift

ALL hail to the Europa! If the margin by which she won the blue ribbon of the North Atlantic was slim it sufficed, and it will be added to beyond question. We welcome her, however, for more reasons than that. She, like the Bremen, is a thing of beauty, combining the aspect of tremendous power with exquisite lines; surely not even the dullest of landlubbers can regard the pictures taken as she was just arriving without a profound thrill. Here we have the machine at its best; the clearest demonstration that a great tool of commerce can be made a joy to the eye; the freshest proof of man's recurring capacity to triumph over nature and bend the seven seas to his will.

Let it be noted, too, that the Europa is an improvement upon her predecessor, the Bremen, in the taste of her decorations, in the refinements and greater efficiency of her engine-room, in the lessened vibration. Her German engineers and designers have set a high mark for their rivals here and in England to attain. The bulbous keel and forefoot, the anti-rolling devices, all prove that naval architecture has by no means reached the limits of its development. As for the speed of these German fliers, the public, of course, believes that they will in time be able to take ten hours off their existing records. The posted are not so sanguine. They know that each additional knot means higher fuel bills,

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and that there is no sense in speeding up your ship if thereby you arrive off the Ambrose Channel lightship at 3 or 4 a.m. or at Cherbourg hours before it is possible to land.

The interesting fact is that speed rivalry has returned. We remember well being solemnly told only a few years ago by the head of a rival line of the North German Lloyd that the large, fast ship was a thing of the past, that it was uneconomic, frightfully costly during the winter deficit season, and contrary to the trend toward moderate-priced cabin vessels and tourist-third-class ships. None the less, great fast ships are appearing again and the Bremen has carried such a large passenger list, even in mid-winter, as to give rise to the hope that the new racers will be fine money-makers. So Americans are out to rival them. Under the terms of their agreement with the government, the purchasers of the United States Line are to build, with the aid of loans of taxpayers' money, two monster ships to outrank and outspeed the Bremen and Europa. Horrible are some of the features announced for them—vaudeville, moving pictures, cabaret, night-club life; the jazz age is to invade the ocean. Not even there are we to escape.

It is a tremendous task that has thus been given to the American designers. They—and in particular Theodore Ferris—have been turning out some very fine ships, but the largest of them, the Pennsylvania, of a greater tonnage than the combined tonnage of Dewey's fleet when he attacked Manila, is still far below the size of the Leviathan and the Majestic. When the new monsters are built and in service the question will then arise whether or not they can compete on equal terms with the German fleets. We are not surprised that the North German Lloyd has utilized the arrival of the Europa to emphasize again the fact that these two ships have been built without one dollar of subsidy, without loans from the government, without undue mail payments. This is a magnificent example of courageous business independence, especially noteworthy in a country which only seven years ago was in complete economic chaos. It is the sort of thing upon which the United States used to pride itself. In Germany it has been possible not only because of the courage of their shipping men and their invariable custom of upbuilding their fleets without subsidy, but because the companies have behind them three-quarters of a century of technical shipping experience.

In England it looked recently as if they had given up the competition. The keel laid for the proposed monster White Star liner is to be broken up and the material used for smaller vessels. This company has hauled down the flag. The Cunard, on the other hand, is reported ready to go ahead—in the nature of things it must soon replace the Aquitania and the Mauretania, remarkable as both those ships have been in service, ability, and longevity. But the financing of such a vessel is now an enormously difficult undertaking; and, in the present state of British finance, not so easy as in the past. That the merger of the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg-American Company, or better the pooling of their interests, will lead to similar action by the great British lines is now the belief in American shipping circles. Beyond question the English will not permit either Germany or the United States to usurp primacy on the ocean without a struggle. But through the Europa and the Bremen the German lines have at least three years of undisputed championship before them.

A Modest Proposal

IN the case of Mae West the mills of the gods seem to be grinding even more slowly than is supposed to be their wont. Some two years ago she was arrested as the producer of a dull and possibly obscene play called "Pleasure Man." The court proceedings still drag on, long after the alleged offense has been generally forgotten. A short while ago the case came up for trial at last, but since that time there have been three postponements, and we are wondering how much it will ultimately cost the State of New York to dispose of this play which, if left to itself, would soon have died of its own stupidity without costing the taxpayers a cent. But if money must be spent in order to demonstrate a devotion to virtue then we are inclined, when we consider the case of John Cleland, to suspect that they order these things better in England—or used to at least.

Cleland was the author of the most famous obscene classic in the English language, namely, "Fanny Hill, or the Memoirs of a Lady of Pleasure," but though the work assured him a kind of immortality it is not generally known either that he received a government pension as the result of the scandal which it caused or that the pension was granted him in the interests not of obscenity, but of respectability. Such, however, is indeed the case. The work was composed in the middle of the eighteenth century and sold for twenty guineas to a bookseller who is said to have made £10,000 off his property. So great was the uproar that the author was summoned before the privy council, but when he appeared he pleaded poverty in extenuation. He was a gentleman; he had served in the East India Company; he had fallen upon evil days. As a result of these excuses Lord Granville, president of the council, persuaded a most humane government to grant to Cleland a pension of £100 per annum on the understanding that he would compose no more works of this class, and to his honor be it recorded that he never did. Unfortunately, however, £100 a year is about as large a reward as virtue can hope for. Though Cleland subsequently composed several innocent works, including a treatise on philology, all of them have been completely forgotten, while "Fanny Hill" is continually in print and may usually be obtained from those booksellers who supply the cognoscenti. Thus his single fall from grace assured to the author both his only income and his only immortality.

The modest "Britannica," which devotes whole articles to men whose works are far less well known, has no mention of John Cleland's name, but those who wish to know more about him may consult the "Dictionary of National Biography." However, our present purpose is rather practical than historical. Could not the various societies for the suppression of vice raise a fund for the purpose of buying off the authors who offend them most persistently? Let them present to each offender a purse, proportionate in size to the gravity of his offense, and let them say to him, "Go and sin no more." It would certainly be more Christian than the effort to put him in jail, and it very well might work better. Certainly it would save the state some money and it would give the police a little more time to spend on such minor crimes as robbery, extortion, and murder.

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It Seems to Heywood Broun

IT is unfortunate, but perhaps inevitable, that when anybody writes a play or wins a battle there should be controversy about the credit. After every triumph there is generally a Sampson and a Schley. So it is in the case of "The Green Pastures." To be sure, the author of the book and the dramatist are wholly amicable, but here and there has come the shot of snipers from the sidelines. I've heard it charged by several that the critics of the New York press have tossed too many laurels in the direction of Marc Connelly and neglected Roark Bradford, who wrote "Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun." Indeed Jay House of the *Evening Post* went to the length of declaring that all the credit should go to Mr. Bradford.

But such a statement, if made sincerely, could only come from a man ignorant of the gulf which lies between the dramatic and the narrative form. If "The Green Pastures" were a straight dramatization it would still be true that much of its success upon the stage would in justice be allotted to the theatrical collaborator. Nothing marches straight from the printed page and by a mere turn of the head changes itself from narrative to drama. At the very least there must be a shaping, a pruning, a speeding up.

And "The Green Pastures" is not a dramatization. Distinctly this is an adaptation. The book of Bradford's served as a springboard for the play of Connelly's. I am aware that there are a number of lines in the play which are taken literally from "Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun," but there is a vast change in mood. Mr. Bradford seems to have been interested almost exclusively in the humorous potentialities of Bible folklore told from a Negro point of view in Negro dialect. The agonizing, heartbreaking moments of the play are wholly Connelly.

I do not hold that pathos is of necessity a higher artistic expression than the merely comic, but Connelly's contribution is better rounded. He has taken black loam and breathed upon it. There is nothing in the book which lays hands upon my spine as does the march of the Children in the scene which pictures the road to the Promised Land.

But whether the play or the book is better makes small difference for the purpose of this piece. It is enough to indicate that they are different. Of course, any successful play, whatever the source of the material and its treatment, must be in a sense a collaboration. When I speak of the march of Israel and its poignant effect upon one particular spectator I am introducing other factors which are neither directly Connelly nor Bradford. Something of the emotion comes from the scenic scheme designed by Robert Edmund Jones. Mr. Jones once explained in my hearing that his theory of a setting for a play lay in the conception of the mass coming in toward the individual. He seemed to say that man's true portrait can never be painted except when he is put under pressure. And that pressure, I suppose, may be of color, or design, or emotional circumstance.

The perfect studio, then, for a portrait painter should be set close by the shore of the eternal brimstone lake. In depicting the heads which bobbed above that surface the artist could not fail to find the true essentials of the characters which sat for him uneasily. And if, instead of a head, a mere succession of bubbles marked the presence of a lost soul, the painter would know that here was nothing sufficiently substantial to be worth recording on his canvas. Of course, it may be all as simple as the fact that Mr. Jones has picked precisely the right shade of blue to act as background for the dusky little children as they are raised high upon the shoulders of the marching men and women.

In the case of Marc Connelly it is well to bear in mind that he stems into "The Green Pastures" from several directions. I do not know just how well the play reads, for I have never seen the manuscript, but even if any portion of the printed words leaves you comparatively cold there is still the chance that the thing in action will effect your capture. And Connelly designed the action.

Few are there so wise as to be able to announce with certainty just where the playwright ends and the actor begins upon his own. It is certain that players, upon occasion, have made much of fairly tawdry material and certain other roles are actor-proof, so that whoever is assigned to the part invariably figures in the notices as a person of indubitably high talent. Yet there is much to be said for the man who picks the pegs. If Connelly had nothing else to his credit the New York theater would still owe him a great deal because of the extraordinarily successful bit of casting he has done in choosing Richard Harrison to play the Lord.

I should like to know just what inspiration lay behind that selection. In the beginning there was something to be said against it and I believe that Mr. Harrison did some of the saying. He was eager enough to accept the opportunity, but on account of his connection with various Negro colleges in the South he feared the criticism of fundamentalists with whom he came in contact. It was, according to the story, the late Bishop Shipman who convinced Mr. Harrison that the fundamental mood of the play was reverential and should not be offensive to the most orthodox. But over and beyond that I am puzzled as to how the playwright knew in advance that this was the precise and particular person to be Jehovah in the troupe. After all, here was a somewhat elderly dramatic reader without stage experience who was being just a little reluctant to perform.

I have never known an elocutionist who did not elocute even when one asked him "please." It is vital that the role of the Lord shall be played with the utmost simplicity. And that is the way Harrison plays it. Upon him rests a great responsibility. "The Green Pastures" stands or falls by one moment in the second scene. The sight of the heavenly fish fry amuses us and then suddenly through the laughter rings Gabriel's great line, "Gangway for the Lord God Jehovah!"

It is, I suppose, the most stupendous entrance ever arranged for any actor and if the audience laughs when the man appears the play is almost done for. And no one laughs. And this is what I call a collaboration. The playwright has conceived the scene with free and courageous imagination and then he has gone on to find someone able to play it in just that spirit.

HEYWOOD BROUN

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"My Dear Senator"*

II

MY DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your letter. Yes, the natural economic tendency is toward greater and greater combinations. I am afraid you are right that we cannot stop them by prosecutions under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. You are correct, too, in saying that the commissions we create to control the several industries are usually filled either by the tools or the nominees of the industries to be regulated, or by weaklings without views upon economic problems, who too often seek employment from the combinations they are supposed to regulate. Effective regulation is, of course, further hampered by the fact that our Constitution prevents price control unless the companies involved are engaged in interstate commerce.

I agree with you that there is nothing in the suggestion that has been made to you that the government set up a railroad system of its own to compete with other railroads and develop its own power companies, and thus control prices and methods. The government corporation in each case would speedily find itself isolated and faced with a combination of private companies circumventing the Sherman anti-trust law by means of those private understandings within the trade which in some phases have appealed so much to Herbert Hoover. You then declare that the only alternative is outright government ownership. Next, you ask me: "How far could anyone get in this country with a real constructive program along these lines? So, after all, shouldn't your criticism of us Senators be directed also against the President, and against the whole people of the country who are at the present time enraptured with materialism?"

Your question reveals again the chief fault of the men who rule us at Washington. Rightly or wrongly, you believe that government ownership is the only way out, and yet you put aside your belief by the question: "How far could anyone get in this country along these lines?" There you have the expediency which makes of most of our legislation mere futile compromise. There you have the expediency which has reduced us to our present headlessness and leaves us without a constructive industrial or economic program. If you feel heart and soul that the time has come for the government to take over the key industries of the country, it is surely your duty to say so and pay no attention whatsoever to the consequences. If you did this, you would immediately stand out as one of the powerful and compelling personalities in American life. You would prove yourself a leader because you were willing to have it known exactly how you stand, and were ready to face the inevitable consequences which come to any man who pioneers or takes an unpopular political path. If you will let me be frank, by taking such a stand and thus being true to yourself you would instantly cross the line which divides the politician from the statesman. That you would be widely attacked, probably as a Bolshevik, goes without saying. If you, too, like one of your colleagues who wrote me the other day, can think of politics only as a game, if you think that you have got to compromise and be practical in order to remain in Washington and work for good causes, you will, of course, continue in your present course and will undoubtedly be reelected from your State for several terms to come.

It is, however, just because men like you will not formulate a program representing your real beliefs and stand by it, come what may, that the American people are losing their interest in politics. I deny your charge that they are "enraptured with materialism." Multitudes of them are hungering and thirsting for genuine leadership. They want courage; they want a program, and when it is offered to them they will rise to it, just as they responded to the Progressive program of Theodore Roosevelt, and to the idealism of the early Woodrow Wilson. They feel that they have a right to look to their public men for guidance and constructive economic proposals. That is what you men in our public life are paid for. You are our representatives, with time enough, despite the enormous pressure of your legislative work, to plan, to study, and to formulate. Many of your colleagues find plenty of leisure hours in which to have a good time; but they are the ones who are wholly unconcerned with the great economic problems that confront every capitalistic country in the world. They lie back complacently and say that all is well with us. They refuse to listen to warnings.

Many have forgotten the advanced character of the Roosevelt Progressive platform of 1912 and how far we are from realizing it. They do not even care to inquire what the Socialist program is, or any other program. They are intellectually on a par with the Daughters of the American Revolution, who wish to deport anybody who does not think our system of government and the results we are achieving 100 per cent perfect. It is impossible to get these legislators to think because they do not want to think, and because they are unaware how ignorant they are, and how far away from them the world has drifted since August 1, 1914. You can no more compel them to study what is going on in the world than you can compel a horse to drink, and so they see nothing inconsistent in the chaos into which our economic life has fallen. They applaud the creation of the greatest bank in the world in New York as a result of combinations, and at the same moment applaud the government's attack in the courts upon the proposed consolidation of the Standard Oil and the Vacuum Oil Companies. They see nothing significant in the government's complete reversal of its policy in the matter of the combination of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroads. They actually believe that the present regrouping of the railroads into seventeen systems is the solution of the railroad problem, without in the least degree perceiving that this in no wise decreases the dangerous influence wielded by the great railroad corporations in the molding of our financial and economic policies.

But why go on? You understand these things, and this fact makes it all the more the duty of a thoughtful, pro-

* The second of a series of articles on the national political situation and the issues it involves. The third will appear in an early issue.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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gressive Senator like yourself not only to study and to think, but to plan and, most important of all, to take the lead. How far could you get? I presume you mean how far politically. Well, I think you might easily be defeated in your next contest for reelection, but I know that coming right out for your beliefs would more nearly assure you a permanent place in the history of our country than a dozen reelections from your mountain State. What does it avail a man to save his election and lose his soul if there burns within it the desire to strike out on new lines and his conscience tells him to do it? Must you always let "I dare not" wait upon "I would"? Is there a single moral or economic reform recorded in history that was not carried through by men who forgot entirely to ask themselves how far their perilous advocacy would get them, who cheerfully had their heads chopped off if necessary to advance their causes? Yours is a wonderful opportunity. You have a marvelous forum in which to speak. With you alone the decision rests.

Yours very truly,

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Religion in Russia

By LOUIS FISCHER

Moscow, March 15

"ON the motion of the Archbishop of Canterbury the Convocation of Canterbury, at Church House, Westminster, yesterday 'recorded its indignant protest against the persecution of all who professed any form of religion in Russia'" (London *Daily Herald,* February 13, 1930). The allegation contained in this resolution is simply untrue. Communists suspected of religious inclinations or engaging in religious ceremonies are expelled from the party. In Dayton, Tennessee, a young teacher was dismissed for holding the view that we are descended from monkeys. In Samara or Baku a teacher would be dismissed for holding any other view. But apart from these two classes—the Communists who run the socialist state and the teachers who mold the mind of the young—Soviet citizens, including officials, may believe as they please, observe religion, attend church, and contribute toward the upkeep of priests. The notion must have gained ground abroad that all churches, synagogues, and mosques in the Soviet Union are closed. This would be a preposterous impression. Every day services are held in thousands of houses of worship. These services are attended by thousands. Church weddings and funerals and baptisms suffer no interference from the authorities, absolutely *none*. It is probably safe to guess that as many Christian homes in Russia have ikons as not.

The Bishop of Norwich, England, referred in an address to "savage" and "organized" persecution. "Religious faith of any sort is being brutally attacked," writes the Bishop of Chester. One is free, from these statements, to summon up pictures of executions, torture, and torments. Nothing of the sort has happened or is happening. No priests or rabbis or mullahs have been killed or imprisoned for believing in God or ministering to the devout. General Higgins, in the Salvation Army's London paper, the *War Cry,* calls upon all religious bodies to pray against those "who may be brutally doing to death men and women who in Russia seek to worship Him." This is merely hysterical froth based on the concoctions of Riga correspondents in their wildest and most imaginative moments. "Some of the atrocities," Lord Ponsonby said in a debate on religion in Russia in the House of Lords on February 20, "bore a very great resemblance to the story of the Belgian baby without hands." The comparison is apt. Tales that receive wide circulation are not necessarily true, and when they are accompanied by outbursts of hate they may frequently be maliciously false.

The anti-Soviet campaign on the ground of alleged religious persecution has provoked a remarkable demonstration of unity in the bourgeois world. The Pope, between 1922 and 1924, sought to exploit the Bolsheviks' opposition to Greek Orthodoxy in order to undermine it and convert its members to Roman Catholicism. Now, when the Vatican no longer negotiates with the Kremlin for advantage, he appears as the champion of the Eastern church. Greek Catholic clergy, never so happy as when they vent their ancient traditional enmity against the Curia, today occupy a common platform with the Vatican. By the side of *émigrés* Ukrainian and Great Russian fathers who blessed pogromists stand liberal and free rabbis whose resentment against Soviet measures for Jewish economic rehabilitation preceded and equals the vigor of their recent anti-Bolshevik denunciations. Misguided lovers of freedom uphold the hands of the most reactionary *Morning Post.* Due allowance having been made for the sincere protests of persons really pained by reports of Soviet repressions of the church, the recent uncontrolled choral outburst of all the enemies of bolshevism nevertheless affords considerable ground for a suspicion of ulterior motives. In England, for instance, the Tories, who always worked for a rupture with Russia, fell on the religious issue as an unexpected lever to achieve that end, but the no less religious Liberals and Laborites either held their peace or launched counter-attacks. This sharp cleavage suggests that the religious smoke screen was intended to hide a political offensive, and that antagonisms rooted in the most varied soils attached themselves to the crop of persecution rumors in the hope of benefiting from popular sentiments so easily provoked by religious questions.

One piquant fact: Mr. Sabline is a Russian monarchist. He was among the most active leaders of the anti-Bolshevik intervention movement in 1917-20. He still styles himself Diplomatic Representative of the Russian Government in London. But on necessary occasions, as when he recently protested in the London *Times* against church persecutions, he signs himself Churchwarden of Saint Philip's, Buckingham Palace Road.

Unfortunately, the campaign abroad, the falsifications and exaggerations, have hidden and distorted the real status of religion in the Soviet Union. The present situation is without precedent and of great moment. In Russia a generation is growing up that does not know God. More, the old generation is forgetting God. There is a social pressure

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against religion. Public opinion is a powerful force driving people into the atheist camp. It requires a tremendous amount of courage for, say, a university student to go to church or assert his faith in the presence of his comrades. They would laugh him out of court; he would be subjected to a kind of political-social ostracism.

Our children's nurse is a peasant maid. About eighteen months ago she was promenading the streets with Yuri and Vitya, aged five and a half and four and a half. On passing a church she crossed herself. They laughed. I cannot imagine who told them or taught them, but they laughed, and she does not do it any more. Recently a priest carrying an ikon and accompanied by a deacon passed through our court to visit an aged janitor. She thought the scene extremely funny. A few years ago she would have been filled with awe. Yesterday I asked her whether she believed in God. She said "No" outright. "Do you go to church?" I asked. She does not. Her last visit was at Easter time. She wanted to see the crowd and hear the choral singing.

Some maintain that Russia was never Holy. The mujik is really a pagan frightened by the mystery of nature's power. The Greek Catholic church, wholly controlled by Czarist autocracy, traded on this primitive sentiment, encouraged black superstition, discouraged literacy, and scoffed at science. The Russian church was never distinguished by strong moral fiber or big spiritual caliber. The licentiousness of the monks is documented in prerevolutionary Russian literature. The white clergy or priests seldom earned the respect of the masses. The village "pope" engaged in drunken brawls with his mujiks; he rarely possessed any education; as a force for good his value was almost zero. I think the elements of religion in Russia were, roughly, physical fear of God, the very strong habit of religious observances, and the fact that the church was the only social center.

When the Bolsheviks came to power the Greek Catholic church, with its Pobedonostzev traditions, its financial dependence on Czarism, its real-estate wealth, and its conservatism, constituted perhaps the best-organized frankly anti-Bolshevik unit in Russia. To Tikhon, its patriarch, the Soviets were anathema and he gave his blessing to the armies of Denikin and Wrangel. Orthodoxy saw the menace of communism and fought fiercely to overthrow the "regime of the anti-Christ."

The Bolsheviks want to abolish all forms of religion. They have not done so because it was inexpedient and impossible. But one will readily understand how the Communists, intolerant of even mild dissenters in their own ranks, would aim to destroy an institution politically and ideologically hostile, psychologically foreign, and morally obnoxious to them. In the eyes of Bolsheviks the church and religion are an unscientific, useless vestige of bygone ages, preserved and harnessed by capitalism to serve its mundane purposes. The struggle commenced immediately after the Revolution, but when the Soviets had won the civil war and intrenched themselves internally, Greek Catholicism, characteristically docile and spineless in the face of established government, sought to make peace with the new state. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, were apparently torn between their hatred of religion and all churches and their desire to weaken Greek Orthodoxy by schisms and by encouraging Roman Catholics, Baptists, and other sects to make inroads on the Eastern church. This was the period of the almost-still-born Living Church and Church of the Resurrection; of public debates—now unthinkable—between Lunacharsky and Bishop Vedjensky, both silver-tongued, evangelistic, and idealistic; of crude, vulgar, anti-religious street demonstrations; of offensive but some good "godless" posters; of pourparlers with the Vatican; and of the growth of sectarian groups. In general, the Bolsheviks' policy vis-a-vis religion was vacillating and indecisive: they harassed without destroying.

Gradually methods changed. Fewer effigies of Christ, Mohammed, Moses, and God were burned in public and more atheist study circles sprang into existence. Sometimes the "godless" journals looked more like catalogues of machine manufacturers or electrical-supply companies. They were combating religion with science. All the time propaganda for the closing of churches continued with undiminished vigor. I saw churches and synagogues sealed in 1923. At that time, of course, religious instruction to minors below the age of eighteen was proscribed; that proscription, as well as the disfranchisement of priests, dates back to 1918.

Then commenced the present period of augmented atheist pressure. It differs from the preceding years quantitatively, but very little in quality. The crusading force of the anti-religious movement has gained fresh momentum but acquired few if any strikingly new characteristics. The fresh momentum is a by-product of the higher revolutionary wave now dominating the Soviet Union. I venture to suggest that religion in Russia will stand and fall with private capitalism. Indeed, Stalin's article of March 2, 1930, urging moderation in the socialization of agriculture immediately reintroduced some slight possibilities of peasant private trade —the essential feature of NEP—and simultaneously, therefore, brought relief to the church and priests. (I spoke to a few priests on this matter just a few days ago.) The priest is the natural ally of the Nepman and kulak. They have been known to work together criminally to obstruct Soviet laws, but even in more ordinary circumstances the social and ideological tie between the merchant and the priest or between the Jewish petty trader and the rabbi is certainly stronger than that between religious leaders and workers or poor peasants.

Revolution and socialist construction have now been given freer rein than ever before in Russia; the result is more violent atheist propaganda and the closing of more churches. Because these two phases are so closely interlaced, the Bolsheviks logically, if somewhat too primitively, deduce that it is opposition to socialism and the Five-Year Plan that dictates the religious protest of foreign interests. This may be generally correct but not always correct. Fundamentally, however, the insistence that Moscow prohibit anti-church agitation will avail as little as the demand that it scrap socialism. The Pope can no more stop the conversion of Soviet youth to atheism than he can add to the length of women's skirts. The time to save the church of Russia was in 1917, 1918, and 1919. Greek Orthodoxy could have been redeemed at that time by the overthrow of the Soviet regime. Now it must pray for the persistence of the vestiges of an anemic private capitalism. The question remains whether a country can live without religion or, at least, without the organized forms of religion. The Communists, apparently, answer in the affirmative.

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A Cross-Section of Washington

By PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, March 29

PERHAPS it is too soon after the Hughes affair to expect the Senate again to assert its power of scrutiny over an appointment to the Supreme Court. The average level of courage in that body is distinctly mercurial. Nevertheless, as information accumulates the belief grows that the nomination of John J. Parker for the vacancy created by Justice Sanford's death is one of the worst in a generation. In the first place, it is a purely political appointment, intended to strengthen the Republican Party in the South and particularly in North Carolina. The record of the nominee is the totally undistinguished one of the usual party hack. He served as Republican National Committeeman for his State, and as a delegate to Republican national conventions. He was a special Assistant Attorney General in the Department of Justice under Harry Daugherty. As a federal judge, he is known, if at all, chiefly for an opinion upholding the "yellow-dog contracts" which West Virginia coal-mine operators compelled their employees to sign. This medieval instrument of industrial coercion is prohibited by law in the enlightened State of Wisconsin. The circumstances which attended his failure as a special prosecutor in war-fraud cases were so unusual, and have provoked such comment among lawyers, as to demand a thorough investigation. They recall those surrounding the parallel career of that great orator and statesman, Guy Despard Goff, who is one of Judge Parker's sponsors. By the time Hoover gets through, the "liberal minority" of the court is likely to consist of the justices appointed by Harding and Coolidge.

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RIGHT now Washington is suffering from a ghastly hangover. The worst tariff bill in the history of civilized nations has passed the Senate at last and is on its way to conference, where there will be an earnest and painstaking effort to make it still worse. But what a headache it leaves! A dozen Democratic and Progressive Senators have recovered their wits sufficiently to wonder what they took that caused them publicly to kiss and embrace the Old Guard in the closing orgy of rate-raising, and as they wonder their bitterness increases against "Old Joe" Grundy, who gave them the stuff. Oddly, "Old Joe" is no happier than his dupes. While the trading-post which he set up on the Senate floor was the means of raising the sugar duty and placing a tariff on lumber and cement, he was unable to prevent reductions in the rates on pig iron and aluminum. This failure doubtless contributed to developments which now point either to "Old Joe's" withdrawal from the Pennsylvania Senatorial race, or to his ignominious defeat by James John Davis, biggest and best Moose of all time. Also, it now turns out to the great grief and astonishment of "Old Joe" that a comparatively small proportion of Pennsylvania voters are manufacturers, and that the overwhelming remainder tend to regard his Washington activities much as they are regarded by decent people elsewhere; to wit, as those of an unscrupulous lobbyist.

HIS present plight provokes reflection. Control of the Pennsylvania governorship, by which he always has set particular store and by which he was elevated to the Senate, has definitely been lost by the withdrawal of his candidate, and strong pressure is being applied from Washington to secure his own withdrawal. The reason for the latter is simple: the Administration realizes that "Grundyism" will be one of the leading Democratic issues in the fall Congressional campaigns, and it believes that the issue will lose much of its sting if Grundy himself is out of the picture. This attitude on the part of the Administration makes it extremely difficult for the Mellons to lend "Old Joe" much support, without which his candidacy is hopeless. Uncle Andrew is unwilling to jeopardize his own tenure, especially since there still remain in the Treasury a few dollars in war-time excess-profits taxes that have not been refunded to the corporations which paid them. Nor is he in general one to sacrifice himself on the altar of friendship.

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THE situation resulting from inquiries into the lobbying proclivities and financial eccentricities of National Chairman Claudius H. Huston is equally disturbing from any sound Republican viewpoint. While it is recognized among loyal party men that Mr. Huston's habit of using trust funds to margin his personal stock account is but another proof of his genius, they realize that it is likely to be misunderstood by an electorate unaccustomed to large affairs. This impression is heightened by the disclosure of other episodes in his interesting career. Hence they are urging him to make the Great Sacrifice for the good of the party, trusting that God and Herbert Hoover will reward him. Thus far Doubting Claudius has stood pat, with an air that seemed to ask who was going to throw him out. Apparently it will not be his friend in the White House. Mr. Hoover shows a marked distaste for that job. It is true that, following the revelations of the lobby committee, a correspondent of the New York *Times* made the prompt discovery that the President had never recommended Huston for the post. This remarkable bit of detection was accepted, by those who know the accommodating nature of the *Times*, as the inevitable setting for that familiar Hoover drama, "Throwing an Old Pal to the Wolves," but the action has been unaccountably delayed, and it appears that the National Committee may have to act as its own bouncer. Eventually, of course, Huston will have to go. His methods are too advanced for an old-fashioned firm.

* * * * *

AN unhappy fatality seems to pursue those who occupy the office of Secretary of the Interior, and it should cause no surprise if the learned Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur proves not to be an exception. Poor Albert Fall had an insatiable craving for Liberty bonds and cash in satchels. The lamented Dr. Work had an unconquerable weakness for the sound of his own voice. Dr. Wilbur is addicted to the companionship of men recommended by the power mag-

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nates. He must have them around him. One such, whom he made executive secretary of the Federal Power Commission, effectually wrecked its work in a short time. This inclination is peculiarly unfortunate at a time when the Secretary's attitude is so important to the power-using public. It may be partially responsible for the absent-mindedness which caused him to tell a Senate committee that he had not made up his mind about the form the Boulder Dam contract should take, when, in fact, his assistant was then en route to California with the draft in his pocket. It may have inspired him to repudiate an interview which he unquestionably had given the Associated Press, to the effect that the department was no longer interested in Samuel Insull's efforts to grab Cumberland Falls. This feeling of comradeship, or something equally mystifying, is responsible for his determination to give the Southern California Edison Company a substantial share of Boulder Dam power, in plain defiance of the law which confers a preference right on States, municipalities, and other political subdivisions. There is a growing desire here to learn at whose instance Dr. Wilbur was put in the Cabinet—and to what end. I confidently predict that he is heading for serious trouble.

* * * * *

THIS writer was one of that confiding multitude who acclaimed the new era of candor and freedom inaugurated by President Hoover in his relations with the press. The battered and frayed White House Spokesman through whom the profound thoughts of Calvin had been conveyed to the public was abolished. As formerly, the correspondents would submit their questions in writing, but under the Hoover plan the answers could be published in one of three forms to be designated by the President: (1) as facts stated on the correspondents' own authority; (2) as information officially made public at the White House; or (3) as direct quotations from the President. In addition, newspapermen would have daily access to Secretary George Akerson, himself a former Washington correspondent. It is my sad duty to report that the working of this plan has steadily been narrowed and restricted until now less reliable and printable information comes from the White House than at any time while Coolidge was President. Written questions have been so consistently ignored that few reporters any longer trouble to submit them. The direct quotation phase has degenerated into a system of Presidential "hand-outs," palpably propagandist in character and seldom responsive to any inquiry. Many reporters have found to their sorrow that Akerson's information simply is unreliable —although not all of them believe he is to blame. His positive statement on the afternoon preceding the nomination of Charles Evans Hughes that the new Chief Justice would be Justice Stone remains the classic example, although examples could be multiplied. In addition, the practice of having "fair-haired boys," once employed by Roosevelt, has been resurrected, whereby the President gives private audiences to correspondents who have demonstrated their willingness and ability to publish stories that he particularly desires published. It was often possible to ask Coolidge a question and obtain an informative answer. But now—"if you don't see it in the hand-out, it isn't there." The old Oriental habit is hard to shake.

Colorado Bars Judge Lindsey

By HARRY McGUIRE

ON December 9, 1929, Ben B. Lindsey, internationally known as the founder of the modern juvenile-court system, was disbarred from the practice of law in Colorado by the Colorado Supreme Court. The opinion of the court, written by Chief Justice Greeley W. Whitford, declared with acid bitterness that Judge Lindsey had been "false to his oath taken as a judicial officer, and also false to his oath as an attorney and a counselor at law, and has thereby proved himself unworthy of the trust reposed in him by this court, and withal wanting in that indispensable moral character which the administration of justice demands of an attorney and counselor."* In pages teeming with sarcasm and recrimination the reason for this action was made clear. First, Judge Lindsey had practiced law while he was the judge of the Juvenile Court. Second, and more important, he had received $37,000 from Mrs. Helen Elwood Stokes and $10,000 from Samuel Untermyer, Mrs. Stokes's attorney, which was held to be in violation of the statute which limits the compensation of juvenile judge to the statutory salary. This much the public knows from the newspapers. What the general public does not know is the history behind this decision—and because Judge Lindsey's disbarment is the result of years of effort to "get" him, I propose to indicate something of the background.

First, the grounds for the disbarment proceedings. The Supreme Court, in accepting the interpretation of Judge Lindsey's actions in the Stokes affair which was placed upon them by Philip S. Van Cise (a violent Lindsey-hater who dug up the whole matter and pressed it upon the Grievance Committee of the Colorado Bar Association), quite obviously interpreted the law in terms of the letter rather than of the spirit. It is a common joke in the clubs of Denver that if the Supreme Court were to test all lawyers by the criteria applied in this case, three-fourths of them would have to go back to selling insurance.

As for the contention that Lindsey practiced law while a judge:

> It is alleged and admitted by Judge Lindsey that at the request of Helen Elwood Stokes he prepared a petition which was thereafter filed in the County Court of the City and County of Denver praying the appointment of the said Mrs. Stokes as guardian of her minor children. Also that he thereafter, on June 25, 1926, prepared the formal order appointing the said Mrs. Stokes guardian of the estates of her minor children. That thereafter Judge Lindsey, at the request of Mrs. Stokes, went to the city of New York and actively engaged in negotiations and

*On February 21, Judge Lindsey was completely exonerated by the California bar when the board of governors of the State association, after consideration of the charges on which the Colorado decision was based, announced that no irregularity on the part of Judge Lindsey had been disclosed by its investigation and that no action would be taken against him.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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conferences looking to a settlement of the claims of the minor children of Mrs. Stokes for a portion of their deceased father's estate in which they had been completely disinherited.

It is claimed that this constitutes practicing law.

The preparation of the petition for guardianship or any other probate matter and the order of appointment are purely formal or clerical. The clerk of the County Court, or his deputy, and in many counties the county judges themselves frequently prepare such petitions and other petitions for any person who needs the same and requests that it be done. No one has ever yet claimed that such courtesies extended to widows or the representatives of orphan children constituted practicing law. Indeed, it is a matter of such insignificance and unimportance so far as the practice of law is concerned that the Legislature of Colorado has authorized any male person over the age of twenty-one years, of good moral character, to practice in the County Court sitting for probate business. And in the case of Judge Lindsey the informalities of his court work have gone to such a point that his arguments and briefs in child-welfare cases from his own court, or other courts, have been received in the Supreme Court without the slightest question or objection.

It has been internationally recognized that one of Judge Lindsey's foremost contributions to jurisprudence has been his insistence that procedure in the Juvenile Court should be personal and often informal, and that judicial red tape should not stand in the way of the judge's doing his best for the children in whatever manner his discretion dictated. In the early days of the Juvenile Court these innovations in court methods led to many a brush with custom-bound guardians of law and order, but of late years they have been universally recognized and lauded.

As for Judge Lindsey's practicing law when he went to New York in behalf of the Stokes children, the facts, unobscured by personal malice, are simple. Mrs. Stokes implored Judge Lindsey to become the general guardian of her minor children so that he could carry on the contest of the will of their deceased father. This the Judge declined to do, but he did, at the urgent request of Mrs. Stokes and her Denver attorney, go to New York, where he participated actively in efforts and negotiations to bring about a fair settlement. Here he was a mediator and arbitrator, and his personal prestige and convictions were the sole weapons he could contribute in the fight for the disinherited children. Mrs. Stokes already had an eminent New York lawyer, Mr. Untermyer. Under the laws of New York Judge Lindsey could not have qualified to practice law if he had tried to. Morally, his personal aid for the Stokes children could not be wrong unless the children's property were under his jurisdiction, which would open the possibility that his future decision might be prejudiced. But in this case the service performed by Judge Lindsey could not in any possible way conflict with his judicial duty. The service was wholly dissociated from his judicial service—the service being performed in New York in relation to a claim to property which under no possible circumstances could be brought within the jurisdiction of the Denver court.

Mrs. Stokes and Mr. Untermyer judged that Judge Lindsey's influence had been highly helpful in winning the case for the children in New York. Mrs. Stokes, moreover, had long before openly admired Lindsey's juvenile work, with which she had been well acquainted for years before circumstances first brought her and her children into his court. Therefore Mrs. Stokes and Mr. Untermyer gave Judge Lindsey a gift of appreciation from their personal fortunes, an amount calculated to provide him with a life income of $200 a month. This sum did not come from the estate of the children, as has been alleged. One important point should be clearly borne in mind: that it was the Probate Court of the City and County of Denver which had jurisdiction over the children's estate and not the Juvenile Court; and that Lindsey, before accepting the gift from Mrs. Stokes and Untermyer, laid the whole matter before the judge (Luxford) of the Probate Court, and Judge Luxford whole-heartedly approved.

These are the alleged grounds upon which one of the most famous jurists of our times, who throughout more than thirty years of public service has time and again sacrificed his personal ends both politically and financially (it will never be known how many destitute mothers and children received help out of Lindsey's own pocket!) in the interests of his work for children and families, is declared "wanting in that indispensable moral character which the administration of justice demands."

But neither the newspapers nor the people of Denver believe that these grounds, which rely upon the nicest of technicalities, are the true reasons for Judge Lindsey's disbarment. People say, "Well, they finally got him." It is sometimes deplored that in a purely formal sense Lindsey may have been indiscreet in accepting a life income from Mrs. Stokes and Mr. Untermyer; but the regret is not that a public servant who kept himself poor all his life (Judge Lindsey still lives in the bare little house which saw his first struggles) in fighting for "the greatest good of the greatest number" has finally enough money to live on. It is simply that these circumstances allowed "them" to "get" him. Who are "they"? I shall very briefly summarize some of the outstanding cross-currents in Lindsey's background, and you can judge who "they" are.

1. When first made a county judge, over thirty years ago, Lindsey openly fought the corporations. He found rank corruption in court, city, and State offices, and he denounced it. Public-utility officials and their lawyers have been his bitter enemies and have constantly sought underground means of getting him out of power. How they have tried to bribe him—sometimes with money and sometimes with hope of offices as influential as those of mayor of Denver and governor of Colorado—is recorded in Lindsey's early book aimed at corporation graft, "The Beast." These forces were relieved when he turned his attention to the Juvenile Court; and public opinion forced them to bow before his work with children. But always they feared him.

2. He was first a Democrat politically, but such was the common people's admiration for his ability and honesty that the Republicans found it useless to oppose him, and after he formed the Juvenile Court he allowed his name to be unopposed on both Republican and Democratic tickets. But the politicians never loved him, because from the first he refused to kotow to the spoils system; and as most corporation graft was also political graft, most of the big politicians in Colorado at some time or other found Lindsey embarrassing. He gradually became non-partisan, a kind of non-political institution; and when in one election the politi-

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cians in both parties decided they would cook his goose by refusing him nomination on either ticket, he ran as an independent and gave them the only beating rank-and-file politicians have ever taken in Colorado. Politicians have respected him, feared him, and wished that he lived in Lithuania.

3. When the specter of the Ku Klux Klan arose in Colorado, and turned to its mysterious will great men, from United States Senator and Governor down to the Mayor of Denver, there was one man who without waiting for it to intimidate him rose like a Daniel and denounced it. He could have ignored it, or winked a knowing eye at its dark doings, like many other judges and officials. But he poured on it a torrent of wrath out of the pure honesty of his sense of justice. "Get Lindsey!" became the subterranean purpose of the Klan. So he paid the price of his honesty in an election in which he clearly won, but which was protested to the Supreme Court.

4. Lindsey had often accused members of the Supreme Court of being in effect tools of the corporations. The court had seldom been friendly to him or to his reforms, having on some occasions given decisions against these reforms. When the Klan protested his last election, the Supreme Court, on the flimsiest of evidence, threw out in toto the precincts in the Hebrew section where Lindsey's lead had been immense, and awarded the election to the Klan candidate, a questionable figure who had meanwhile committed suicide. They awarded the salary Lindsey had been earning under his certificate of election while the long-drawn-out case was being heard to the widow of this man. In short, the Supreme Court of Colorado has long been antipathetic to Lindsey.

5. Church members and women have been Lindsey's strongest supporters, crusaders in his defense when he was attacked. Now comes the juvenile judge with the idea of companionate marriage (that is, birth control, and divorce by mutual consent when there are no children). To many this seems a kind of "trial marriage," or free love. Lindsey is represented as a godless revolutionary attacking our good Christian moral order. Consequence: the "stable element" of the community, which once shared Lindsey's battles so lustily, now hangs back doubtfully. In their hearts these people are still for Lindsey—but his "liberalism" of late has been a bitter pill for them to swallow.

6. In addition to the fact that many of Colorado's ablest lawyers are corporation-hired or are politicians—and in either case Lindsey's hereditary enemies—Lindsey's cutting of red tape in his court, his successful attempts to save the costs of legal service to the poor people who came to him, and his late ideas for a House of Human Welfare in which many matters now subject to intricate court procedure and pleading by lawyers would be settled by a commission hearing the cases directly from those involved are important reasons why the legal profession fears Lindsey.

I have roughly indicated who "they" are who "got" Lindsey; all these forces, in one form or another, were behind the disbarment, which even considered as an act apart from its background was a gross injustice to a great and honest public servant. To close in good legal fashion: the Supreme Court of the United States, recently reiterating the ancient principle of the spirit as opposed to the letter of the law, said: "All laws should receive a sensible construction. General terms should not be so limited in their application as to lead to injustice . . . or an absurd consequence."

In the Driftway

THERE is a new as well as an old New Orleans, and the proponents of the new city do foolish things sometimes in their efforts to achieve what they fondly imagine to be Progress. But fortunately New Orleans has a considerable and articulate body of citizens who look these efforts toward Progress in the mouth and make a hullabaloo if they disapprove of them. More fortunately still, practically everybody in New Orleans realizes that its historic and individual character is a commercial asset, attracting visitors and giving the city a standing distinct from that of other towns which is worth something in dollars and cents. And a commercial asset is treated with respect in every community with which the Drifter is acquainted.

* * * * *

A RECENT instance is the vigorous protest against a proposed city ordinance which would require the removal of the old balconies in a part of the business district above Canal Street. In justice to the advocates of the ordinance it should be explained at once that the proposal would not apply to the old French quarter, the Vieux Carré, below Canal Street, where most of the balconies, with their beautiful iron grill work, are to be found. Nobody in New Orleans—at least no politician—would be rash enough to attack these. They are too precious a commercial asset. The ordinance was proposed in connection with a new "White Way" lighting system in the business section and would not affect many really worth-while old balconies. Yet it aroused a storm of protest. Grace King, the author of books on the city which are known far outside it, Professor Ellsworth Woodward, director of the art department of Newcomb College, and Walter Parker, a civic leader, came out publicly against the scheme. So did the Art Association and—strange as it may seem to some—the Association of Commerce, the leading business men's organization. It was pointed out that the balconies were useful as well as beautiful. Walter Parker, for instance, said in a letter to the city officials concerned:

> No sane tropical or subtropical city apes the architecture of cold climates, but builds to suit its own climate. In heavy rains or warm sun people on unprotected sidewalks do not linger to look into store windows, but hurry to some protected spot. Just the reverse is true on well-protected sidewalks.
>
> If it is necessary to pass an ordinance relative to balconies above our sidewalks, pass one to preserve them, beautify them, and assure their continued utility and charm, but certainly not one compelling their destruction.

The *Morning Tribune*, in espousing the campaign against the proposed ordinance, also was wise in emphasizing the fact that the balconies are a commercial asset. It printed a cartoon showing a workman at the top of a stepladder knocking down a balcony, while a group of men representing other cities—Atlanta, Pittsburgh, Omaha, and Houston—shouted their approval. The drawing was entitled: Helping Others to Our Tourist Trade.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

Showmanship in Oregon

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: When I was a boy in London I had heard about a distant land called America but not about a man named George Washington. Then one day, after seeing a marvelous circus, I knew that Phineas T. Barnum was the greatest showman on earth and, ipso facto, the greatest American. Here in Portland, a man who owned and managed successfully theaters and other shows all his life became our mayor about twelve years ago. The other day, when the local Communists put on their own show at the Plaza Blocks near the City Hall, George L. Baker, mayor and ex-showman, instead of putting the cops and the militia to work, showed the poor dubs what a real barker can do by haranguing them. It may be that his impromptu speech was a lot of hooey, but so much the better; for fighting hooey with hooey is akin to fighting the devil with fire. At any rate there were no cracked Communist heads. At least, not cracked by police clubs.

Portland, Ore., March 18 Albert Jourdan

Another Senator on Virtue

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: If you haven't already seen it, be sure to read Senator Blease's speech of March 18 in the Senate. I think it is the first time I have ever heard of a Senator boasting in the Senate that lynch law prevailed in his State. His exact words (*Congressional Record*, March 18, p. 5748) are these:

> I am proud to stand here as a representative of the State which was the mother of secession, which stood for manhood and for freedom, which stood, and today stands, above all States of this Union for the protection of the virtue of womanhood, because that State authorizes no divorce from the bonds of matrimony, and which stands, above all, on the decision that whenever any man, whether he be white or black, puts his hand upon a woman against her will and her consent, the punishment therefor shall be death; and, if necessary, the technicalities of the law will be thrust aside, and that sentence will be immediately put into execution.

Don't miss the next page, either, where he indicates his idea of academic freedom in the University of South Carolina!

Coleman B. Cheney

Saratoga Springs, N. Y., March 23

Power Control Breaks Down

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: For three years I was a resident of Alameda City, California, which has a municipally owned electric supply. Recently I moved to Oakland, which is supplied by one of the great power companies. In Alameda my monthly bill for electricity for 170 kilowatt hours was $5.92. Under the privately owned supply my bill for 170 kilowatt hours is $6.65. The difference is $8.76 per annum, which enables the privately owned company to earn nearly 13 per cent on its valuation. The difference between the 13 per cent and the 8 per cent allowed as a "non-confiscatory" return by our enlightened Public Service Commission is plowed into the aggregate profits.

Oakland, Cal., March 15 J. C. West

SOCIAL ENGINEERING

To the trained social worker, social engineering is not a phrase, but a daily opportunity and inspiration. The social worker whose work is with the Jews of America must be trained to grapple successfully with the peculiar problems that spring from the distinctive character of the Jewish individual and community in relation to the American environment.

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Books and Drama

Tabula Rasa

By LESLIE NELSON JENNINGS

Aforetime it was written in the groan
Of glaciers crawling slowly to the sea,
Engraved on massy tablatures of stone,
Told by a fern frond's cursive tracery.
Earth is a palimpsest, a page that few
Can read and not remember; yet the mute
Witness within us craves another clue
To the incalculable Absolute.

Nature, that old Historian, has grooved
In granite such a text as must endure
When our inventions all have been disproved.
Who shall proclaim the primogeniture
Of this frail substance which the wind can mold
And one small crevice of creation hold?

The Analysis of Morals

Five Types of Ethical Theory. By C. D. Broad. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.50.

IF Great Britain at the moment were not so rich in brilliant philosophers—Whitehead, Alexander, Eddington, Moore, Russell, to name but a handful—we should hear a great deal more of C. D. Broad, M.A., Litt. D., fellow and lecturer in the moral sciences at Trinity College, Cambridge, author of "Scientific Thought," "The Mind and Its Place in Nature," and the present volume. Dr. Broad has many of the more important merits of a fine philosophical writer. He ingratiates himself at once by his unpretentiousness and remarkable lucidity. He is a rigorous and acute logician, quick to smell and pounce upon a fallacy or an ambiguity. While he does not put his trust completely in "common sense" (else he would be no philosopher at all), he has a fitting respect for it. He dismisses as "silly," for example, any theory, no matter how self-consistent, "which may be held at the time when one is talking or writing professionally, but which only an inmate of a lunatic asylum would think of carrying into daily life." He distinguishes sharply between critical philosophy—"the analysis and definition of our fundamental concepts and the clear statement and resolute criticism of our fundamental beliefs"—which he applauds, and speculative philosophy, which he deplores. It is speculative philosophy, of course, which interests most persons, because it pretends to supply a "total view" of the universe. But Dr. Broad finds speculative philosophers as a class pretentious dogmatists who have been "more certain of everything than they had a right to be of anything," and he dismisses their elaborate systems as moonshine.

Dr. Broad's present volume is a critical examination of the ethical theories of Spinoza, Butler, Hume, Kant, and Sidgwick. He remarks that he chose these five because their theories are extremely unlike each other, and because all are thinkers of the highest rank. He devotes much the largest space to Sidgwick, whose "Methods of Ethics" he regards as "one of the English philosophical classics," and "on the whole the best treatise on moral theory that has ever been written." It is chiefly the involutions and the dull dignity of Sidgwick's writing, he believes, that have resulted in his having less influence today "than many writers, such as Bradley, who were as superior to him in literary style as he was to them in ethical and philosophical acumen." Dr. Broad's own ethical theories, developed in his criticism and in his final chapter, are too complicated for summary here. It is enough to say that they are developed along traditional academic lines, and that one of his most important (and to me most dubious) conclusions is that "the fundamental concepts and the fundamental judgments of ethics are a priori."

Those of us who do not take a professional view of the subject are likely to approach a volume of this sort with a certain amiable skepticism. We are likely to reflect on the very negligible influence that any of the five philosophers discussed, or even all the metaphysical moralists put together, have had on the actual working moral code of the majority of men. And we are likely to be particularly prejudiced against Dr. Broad, for not only does he discuss seriously thinkers and theories that most of us look upon as long since discredited or superseded, but he himself, in an age when our ethical ideas are being influenced as never before by our knowledge of such sciences as anthropology, psychology, and biology, and by political and personal experiment, still clings to the ancient assumption, stretching back through Spinoza and Plato, that we can discover all we need to know of the ethics of human conduct by looking within ourselves, by examining the common facts known for centuries to everybody, and by simply being careful not to fall into any logical fallacies. Dr. Broad betrays this attitude not only by the type of his argument throughout the volume, but by his statement in the preface that "everyone has the necessary materials [for the study of ethics] at his disposal."

We may take as an example his treatment of Kant. A writer like Havelock Ellis, who may be taken as typical in many respects of our "modern" outlook on ethics, does not trouble to analyze Kant's particular arguments at all. He derides the whole idea of attempting to "rationalize morality," a temptation chiefly felt, he thinks, by "the man whose brain is hypertrophied and his practical life shriveled to an insignificant routine—the man of whom Kant is the supreme type." Dr. Broad would probably think it extremely unphilosophical to bring in such personal references in an attempt to discredit any thinker's views, though he apparently admits that others would find such considerations relevant, for he extends an engagingly candid warning to his reader, in the preface, that his own "range of experience, both practical and emotional, is rather exceptionally narrow even for a don." Dr. Broad's own approach to Kant is one of great apparent respect; he expounds the Königsberg professor's ethical theories in detail and examines them step by step. And I find the result extremely entertaining, for Dr. Broad's patient and unhurried logic finally demolishes the Kantian ethics pretty completely.

Dr. Broad would not apparently be greatly troubled by Havelock Ellis's charge regarding the "harmlessness" of academic moral teaching. He remarks in his concluding paragraph: "We can no more learn to act rightly by appealing to the ethical theory of right action than we can play golf well by appealing to the mathematical theory of the flight of the golf ball. The interest of ethics is thus almost wholly theoretical, as is the interest of the mathematical theory of golf or billiards." But I do not believe we can be so cavalier about the matter as this. What Dr. Broad probably means is that it is only the fundamental theoretical presuppositions of the subject that interest him and philosophers like him, just as it is merely the fundamental concepts of physics, and not any of its details or practical applications, that interested him in his "Scientific Thought." Ethics is not, as Dr. Broad seems to believe, merely a branch of critical philosophy; it is, or ought to be, a

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social science on the plane of economics. Now economists may fittingly concern themselves with the examination of fundamental concepts, such as the meaning of value, but if they confined themselves entirely to such purely "theoretical" problems, and never troubled with such practical affairs as taxation, tariffs, unemployment, and particular prices, the result would merely be that such questions would be settled solely (as they very nearly are) by persons ignorant of basic theory. There is, of course, nowhere any definite line between theory and its application; it is by application, indeed, that economists test, extend, refine, and modify their theories: application and theory must enrich each other. What we have at present in the field of ethics is, on one hand, abstract theorists of the Dr. Broad type, who regard their subject as a sort of fascinating logical game, and, on the other hand, writers like Ibsen, Shaw, D. H. Lawrence, Ellis, Wells, who have a very real influence on actual moral codes, particularly in the sexual realm, but little interest in fundamental problems of theory. Perhaps only when the two types of thinking are united will ethics come into its estate as a genuine instrument in helping us to conceive and realize the good life.

HENRY HAZLITT

The Novelist Fadeyev

The Nineteen. By Alexander Fadeyev. Translated from the Russian by R. D. Charques. International Publishers. $2.50.

WHEN Fadeyev's novel first appeared, in 1927, the Russian critics acclaimed it as the best and most authentic depiction of the red partisans—irregular, spontaneously organized Soviet troops—in their bitter struggle against the whites. What distinguished Fadeyev, a Communist, from the middle-class writers who dealt with the civil war and the Revolution, from Blok, Pilniak, Biely, Leonov, Ivanov, and others, was, the Russian critics pointed out, the restraint, the realism, one might almost say, the naturalism, of his narrative. While the middle-class "fellow-travelers," lashed by their own fears and passions, envisaged the Revolution as an apocalyptic upheaval and the partisans as a blind, elemental mass of beasts or supermen, Fadeyev saw and described his partisans as ordinary beings—fools, cowards, intellectuals, and cutthroats, who love, hate, eat, talk, fight in an atmosphere of everyday existence in the midst of ordinary human sorrows and joys. Hence the simplicity of Fadeyev's style. There are no artifices here and no inflations, no symbolical storms and impressionistic extravaganzas; the work is free of the "fellow-travelers' " ecstatic outbursts, mystical shudders, and prophetic ravings. Not that it is devoid of the heroic; indeed, it is surcharged with it. But Fadeyev, in the manner of Tolstoy, to whom he is greatly indebted, humanizes his heroes by lowering them. With him heroism is never exalted or forbidding; it is simple, natural, the outgrowth of everyday conditions, not infrequently the result of weakness, the concomitant of despair. Instead of drawing his revolutionary figures as mythical monstrosities or lifeless algebraic symbols of the mass will, Fadeyev individualizes them, endowing each one, through a subtle process of inner, psychological illumination, with a distinct character, a glowing personal quality.

The Siberian steppes and forests, the civil war, the vicissitudes, defeat, and final annihilation of a red company, form the background against which are pitted the magnificently conceived, boldly hewn figures of a few partisan men and one woman. The incomparable Morozka, half-peasant half-worker, who leads a loose, devil-may-care existence, steals vegetables from the peasants, gets drunk, and carries on with women, but who for all that is a lovable, generous, brave fellow, loyal to the point of self-forgetfulness (though his class loyalty is intuitive rather than conscious), is one of the most appealing characters in the book. As a contrast there are the repellent Chizh, cultured and utterly cynical, and the pitiful student, Mechik, feeble, sensitive, self-conscious, unstable. Not less real are the other partisans. However, the most interesting and complex character among them is the leader of the company, Levinson. He illustrates best Fadeyev's method of humanizing his heroes by lowering them: "A small man, wearing large topboots, distinguished by a long, red, pointed beard, in appearance rather like a gnome in one of those drawings in children's fairy books." This sickly little Jewish intellectual, who tells salacious jokes, who knows the anguish of doubt and fear and indecision in the face of inevitable cruelty, is certainly no legendary hero, no monumental figure. Yet as the story unfolds he grows in stature; with all his handicaps and faults he reveals himself as a genuine hero, a sterling revolutionist, a devoted friend, a wise and self-sacrificing chief. The peasants and workers of his company cannot resist the impact of his personality. He enforces discipline through persuasion and example, through threats and severe punishment. Only once do we see him break down. It is at the end of the story, when his forces are decimated, his best comrades killed, and he, huddled up on his saddle, weary and heartbroken, tears running down his beard, heads the little band of nineteen survivors.

Despite the tragic ending, this story is not at all depressing. Like all real tragedies it is cathartic. We close the book with strengthened faith in a new Russia and with a feeling of affectionate admiration for the heroic little Bolshevik leader who "ceased crying" because he realized "that it was necessary to live" and that "a man had to do his duty."

JOSHUA KUNITZ

Cowboy Harris

My Reminiscences as a Cowboy. By Frank Harris. Charles Boni. 75 cents.

"MY Reminiscences as a Cowboy," by Frank Harris, is the most absurd farrago of falsities I have ever read. The only possible reason for writing it must have been to provide words to sell; the only reason for reviewing it is to prevent people from buying it. The author has certainly lived up to his reputation for ignoring the truth. If he was ever a cowboy—and there is not so much as one homely metaphor of the soil or one fresh fact to show that he once rode the range—his memories of the experience have become so dim that in writing he found himself obliged to construct rather than arrange them. The construction is about as convincing as the most strained Western thriller.

The account opens with Mr. Harris working in a Chicago hotel in the "early seventies." Here he meets two cowmen from Kansas, throws in with them, and sets out to buy cattle. They go to Taos, which Mr. Harris says is "near" the Mexican border below El Paso, but which any road map will show to be close to four hundred miles from that stretch of the Rio Grande. However, Taos is a good place to have a bloody fandango, which sounds like an echo of the real thing as described by Harvey Fergusson in "Wolf Song." Then with one of his partners Mr. Harris slips over into Mexico and steals fifteen hundred head of cattle, which unaided they drive back across the Rio Grande. Indeed, Mr. Harris drives them alone while his associate shoots pursuing Mexicans. In exchange for a few hundred head of the booty a Texan agrees to aid the thieves. This Texan owns a herd of six thousand cattle which three cowboys constantly keep under guard. Now, even a modern bell hop should know that thirty times three men could

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not among them keep six thousand cattle constantly under herd.

Accompanying Mr. Harris's outfit is Wild Bill Hickok, who in fact was never a cowboy and who was at this time very busy as marshal at Hays City and Abilene. This makes no difference to Mr. Harris. He says that his three heroes are Cervantes, Shakespeare, and Wild Bill; it is to be hoped that he knows more about the first two than he shows himself to know about the last.

He gets back to Chicago just in time for the great fire of October, 1871, his original investment of $3,000 having been converted into $12,000. Mr. Harris does not give the date of the fire. He does not give a single date in the whole book, nor does he give more than half a dozen geographical locations, counting that of Taos, "near the border." Such vagueness may be an aid in making the narrative plausible to the ignorant; to anyone at all judicial it suggests the account a little boy might spin to his mother of having taken a ride on the tail of a buzzard.

A few people who are conscious of art are trying to write of the old West with sincerity and truth. The difficulty they experience in securing a serious hearing is largely explained when such a travesty as Frank Harris's "Reminiscences" is soberly sent forth as an outstanding book of the month—even in paper binding.

J. Frank Dobie

Through the Silver Screen

A Voyage to Purilia. By Elmer Rice. Cosmopolitan Book Corporation. $2.50.

THE land of Purilia, surrounded by pink clouds and lulled in eternal melody, lies somewhere between Lilliput and Erewhon. Elmer Rice, author of "Street Scene," has now written a scholarly work on the life and habits of a most extraordinary people. Although almost immediately after landing on Purilian soil he is caught in a vast network of tangled lives, undergoing the most terrible hardships and encountering the most thrilling adventures, surely, that ever fell to the lot of any scientific explorer—adventures which carry him over half the Purilian globe and which end with the violent death of his "pal," Johnson, the thwarting of the scoundrelly Millwood, and the rescue of the beautiful Pansy Malone from a fate worse than death—he is never for an instant deterred from his purpose. Even while playing the hero he remains the ethnologist.

Only one or two of the many amazing phenomena of Purilian life may be indicated here. One of these—the disembodied voice which the author has named the Presence—is quite inexplicable. At odd intervals it speaks, seemingly out of nowhere, to make some announcement ("Spring comes early to the Purilian hills"), to introduce some person ("Mrs. Malone, Pansy's mother, old before her time from work and worry"), or to offer a bit of mild philosophy or humor ("Jim Slocum, the hired man, never ate peas for fear of cutting his mouth"). The Purilian people seek salvation through tremendous physical and emotional stresses, salvation taking the form of a kind of Nirvana in spiritual union between a man and a woman. But this goal is rarely achieved save by the upper castes. For the caste system is rigidly enforced in Purilia and Mr. Rice has gone into the subject in great detail, arranging and classifying the various orders and explaining how the several castes impinge upon one another.

Mr. Rice's satire is admirably sustained, with its intricate plot, its absurd solemnity, and its mordacious irony. He has surmounted what must have been enormous difficulties with such apparent ease that never for a moment does the writing threaten to go off key. It is to be hoped that the motion pictures acquire the rights.

Fred T. Marsh

A Conscientious Objector

"Hey, Yellowbacks!" The War Diary of a Conscientious Objector. By Ernest L. Meyer. The John Day Company. $2.

THIS is a well-worth-while little book, the unvarnished, simple tale of what an American youth had to endure in 1917-18 because he took literally the commandment "Thou shalt not kill." The conscientious objectors were the real moral heroes of the war. They were literally tested by fire. While Mr. Meyer did not have to undergo the inhuman tortures such as crucifixion, tying up by the wrists, drenching with ice-cold water at midnight, solitary confinement on bread and water, and all the other crimes in the name of the war to preserve democracy and righteousness endured by others, he had enough to undergo in all conscience, beginning with his expulsion from the University of Wisconsin by a trial board of war-crazed professors. That Mr. Meyer was able to keep up his courage, yes, preserve his mental balance, is remarkable; it gives fresh proof that the will and power to endure for one's beliefs have not yet passed out of this materialistic world.

Altogether it is a moving narrative bound to touch anyone except the men in uniform who are too blind or dull to see that the preservation of liberty of conscience is the most important thing in the world, and that next to it comes refusal to bow down before the power of the state when one's mind and conscience dictate revolt. Mr. Meyer's volume is an excellent companion piece to Norman Thomas's "The Conscientious Objector in America." We wish for it a wide distribution.

Oswald Garrison Villard

Another Coleridge

Coleridge, the Sublime Somnambulist. By John Charpentier. Translated by M. V. Nugent. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.50.

BY reason of the strange territories which Coleridge's imagination explored in his poetry, the contrast between his works and his restricted middle-class life has always seemed peculiarly marked by pathos and tragedy. The popular view of the man who wrote four of the finest poems in the English language and one of the first masterpieces of modern literature has been of a frustrated individual whose years, except for a brief period of brilliant creative activity, were spent in ill-fated pursuits or under the shadow of incapacity and mental decay. The backgrounds of his unhappy career are familiar: the rural obscurity of Devon, the schooldays at Christ's Hospital, the restless Cambridge years, the distress caused by the French Revolution and the Pantisocracy scheme, the somber winter in Germany, the later London period divided between irregular employment and lecturing, and finally the incarceration with the Gillmans at Highgate in a firm but dispiriting attempt to cure himself of the opium habit. The golden years were brief; they came when he lived for a short time in the Quantoc Hills near the Wordsworths and wrote "The Ancient Mariner," "Kubla Khan," "Christabel," and other early poems. Without achieving the respectable and rather sanctimonious serenity of Wordsworth's old age, and incapable of carrying out many of his ambitions, Coleridge joined the sorry ranks of those poets who must nourish their lyric inspiration in a body racked by all the ills which misfortune, bad habits, and domestic misery supply. But the drabness and mediocrity of his surroundings and private life can never detract from his front-rank position, gained by a few great poems and his profound criticisms.

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Religious Liberty?

CLAIMS have often been advanced that the establishment of Religious Liberty in America was the work of George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and that the Maryland Province was the first to grant toleration to all. See *The Commonweal,* March 19 and March 26.

Without any comment, or expressing any opinion, we beg leave to cite some facts, quote some authorities, and ask some questions.

1. From *The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State,* by Charles C. Marshall (Dodd, Mead & Co.), pp. 118-119, footnote:

> "The liberal spirit of Virginia in 1776 and of her great Statesman (Jefferson) brings out in strange contrast the early spirit of the Province of Maryland under Lord Baltimore, so often referred to by Roman Catholics as the paradise of religious liberty. By the Maryland Statute entitled 'An Act concerning Religion,' enacted 21st April, 1649, and approved by Lord Baltimore himself, it was provided that all persons within the Province who deny Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or who deny the Holy Trinity, or speak reproachfully thereof, shall be punished with death and confiscation of all lands and goods. *(Archives of Maryland,* vol. 1, p. 244. Cf. Woodrow Wilson, *A History of the American People,* vol. 1, pp. 130-131). . . . It is indeed today a whimsical notion of toleration that would take the life and confiscate the goods of a man who does not believe in the Holy Trinity."

2. From the *Encyclopedia Britannica:*

> "Williams and his companions founded their new settlement upon the basis of complete religious toleration, with a view to its becoming 'a shelter for persons distressed for conscience.' . . . He was the first and the foremost exponent in America of the theory of the absolute freedom of the individual in matters of religion."
>
> WILLIAMS, ROGER (1604-1684), founder of the colony of Rhode Island and pioneer of religious liberty . . . in June, 1636.
>
> QUESTION: Was the Maryland Act of 1649, providing for death and confiscation, or the Rhode Island Declaration of 1636, the first "establishment of religious liberty in America?"

3. From *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII,* issued upon his death in 1903 by Benziger Bros. with the *imprimatur* of the late Cardinal Farley, p. 149:

> "Let us examine that liberty in individuals which is so opposed to the virtue of religion, namely, the *liberty of worship,* as it is called. This is based on the principle that every man is free to profess as he may choose any religion or none."
>
> After arguing at some length against this principle, the Pontiff declares it to be "no liberty, but its degradation, and the abject submission of the soul to sin" (p. 150).

4. From Pope Pius XI, letter to Cardinal Gasparri, May 30, 1929 (Cf. *Current History Magazine,* August, 1929):

> "In a Catholic State liberty of conscience and liberty of discussion are to be understood and practised in accordance with Catholic doctrines and Catholic laws."
>
> (From the same letter): "In matters of conscience, jurisdiction lies with the Church, and with her only, by virtue of her divine mission."

5. From *The Manual of Christian Doctrine,* whose forty-ninth edition was printed 1928 by John Joseph McVey, with the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Dougherty, stated in its preface to be for use in "the classes of High Schools, Academies, and Colleges," we read the following instruction for the students—future voters—treating of the relation of the Roman Catholic Church to the State, on page 133:

> "122. May the State separate itself from the Church?
>
> "No, because it may not withdraw from the supreme rule of Christ.
>
> "123. What name is given to the doctrine that the State has neither the right nor the duty to be united to the Church to protect it?
>
> "This doctrine is called *Liberalism.* It is founded principally on the fact that modern society rests on liberty of conscience and of worship, on liberty of speech and of the press.
>
> "124. Why is Liberalism to be condemned?
>
> "1. Because it denies all subordination of the State to the Church. 2. Because it confounds liberty with right. 3. Because it despises the social dominion of Christ, and rejects the benefits derived therefrom."

The State and the Church is a volume written by John A. Ryan, D.D., LL.D., Director of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Professor of Moral Theology at the Catholic University of America, published 1924 under the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Hayes. Discussing religious liberty as guaranteed by modern constitutions (such as our own), Dr. Ryan, pointing out that the principle he enunciates has no immediate application in the United States, writes, p. 38:

> "But constitutions can be changed, and non-Catholic sects may decline to such a point that the political proscription of them may become feasible and expedient. What protection would they then have against a Catholic State? The latter could logically tolerate only such religious activities as were confined to the members of the dissenting group. It could not permit them to carry on general propaganda."
>
> QUESTION: Are Lord Baltimore's co-religionists today the advocates of freedom of conscience, toleration, and religious liberty?

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M. Charpentier establishes no original point of view in interpreting Coleridge's life, and his subtitle shows it. A biographer does not gain much in lucidity when he tries to solve the problems of an erratic genius by conferring somnambulism upon him. The historical facts are not enhanced in the process, and the interpretation of the poet's work is clouded by a smoke screen of psychological assumptions. In the case of Coleridge this method appears defective at once, for it may be compared with Professor Lowes's researches in "The Road to Xanadu" (one of a half-dozen obvious titles missing in the present bibliography), where with no lack of glamor the history of the poet's mind and imagination is traced with profound insight. M. Charpentier employs all the trappings of the popular biography of the moment, but he is most successful when he discards the showy appeal and considers his man judiciously. Two sections of his book—those dealing with the Nether Stowey and Keswick periods and the final years at Highgate—contain some admirable explications of the evolution of Coleridge's aesthetic theory; and his high tribute to Coleridge's critical genius, which is scarcely overstated when he speaks of "the most stimulating criticism which has ever existed," will serve to emphasize the importance of a great modern critic. The reader will also see the general drift of French opinion about Coleridge and his fellow-poets. There is meager stylistic charm in this biography, but it will be found smoothly readable in its present translation, and throughout there is revealed a warm sympathy in presenting, within too handy a circumference, the dreams and ideals of the second genius of English romanticism.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

An Entangling Alliance

The Franco-Russian Alliance, 1891-1917. By Georges Michon. Translated by Norman Thomas. The Macmillan Company. $4.50.

The Franco-Russian Alliance, 1890-1894. By William Leonard Langer. Harvard Historical Studies, Volume XXX. Harvard University Press.

THE appearance at about the same time of two books on the same subject, with identical titles except for the dates, is an unusual coincidence. Dr. Michon, whose book was published in French in 1927, remarks in his introduction that the history of the Franco-Russian alliance "has never been written." Professor Langer, who speaks of Dr. Michon's book in his bibliography as "the only systematic treatment of the history of the alliance as a whole," also observes in his preface that there has been "no exhaustive treatment" of the subject "to date." Professor Langer has apparently outstripped his colleague in the use of documentary material, and his account of the formation and early years of the alliance is the more detailed. The essential difference between the two books, however, does not lie in a more systematic treatment on the one side or a more exhaustive treatment on the other, but in the fact that Dr. Michon, by carrying forward his study into the period of the World War, is able to exhibit at length the evil consequences of the alliance to which Professor Langer, holding himself to a shorter period, does little more than allude.

It would be difficult to find, in so small a compass, a more vivid picture than Dr. Michon draws of the black cloud which the alliance with Russia hung over French politics and the French mind until revolution had sent Czarism toppling. The smug self-satisfaction of the French bourgeoisie in the decade before the World War, the vicious policy of Poincaré, the indifference to the appeals of Jaurès and others, the vast corruption of the French press by Russian money expended with the knowledge of Poincaré and under the direction of Klotz, the Finance Minister, the complete misunderstanding of the nature of the Russian government, and the enormous losses which the flotation of Russian bond issues brought to the French people—all this, and much more of the same amazing kind, is to be read in Dr. Michon's pages. Professor Langer does not go so far chronologically, but he, too, notes that "if mutual assistance in the event of a German attack was the common denominator of the Franco-Russian alliance, it was a miserable thing from the start," that over four billion dollars in loans was sent to Russia with the clear understanding at Paris that most of it would eventually be lost, and that France was "obliged to assume the unenviable position of supporting the odious Russian autocracy in its struggle with the liberal movement" in that country; for all of which it won, after 1891, only an "extremely precarious" position. Anyone who imagines that political alliances make for peace should ponder the facts which these two books present.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

The Jew in Effigy

Jews Without Money. By Michael Gold. Horace Liveright. $3.

IN the itemized account of our divinely ordained martyrdom which we Jews are keeping to present to the Lord on the day of final reckoning, one of the longest and fattest columns will be under the heading of Literary Damages. As a matter of fact, our literary ordeal at the hands of Jew and Gentile alike, Zionist and anti-Semite, yellow journalist and red has in many ways been more trying than our physical one; and, frankly, if we had known in advance of this gratuitous supplement to our sufferings, we should rather have chosen not to be the Chosen People. And not because we are getting crotchety in our old age. Being burnt in the flesh, as we have frequently had occasion to find out, is a painful enough business, but at least there is some dignity to it. But to be burnt in effigy! To be hissed and applauded—in effigy! To be vilified and deified—in effigy! To be laughed at and cried over—in effigy—as we have been subjected to in literature past and present, up to and including this latest affront—that is merely humiliating.

Perhaps that is what Shylock, one of the earliest effigies made of the Jew, had in mind when he cried (to all the Ghetto-mongers of the future)—"Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?" Shakespeare, perhaps, had never seen one, and for all he knew a Jew might have had horns and a tail. But what are we to say of Jewish writers—not literary Jews like Ludwig Lewisohn, but genuine products of the Ghetto like Michael Gold and others, whose books people the East Side with crudely carved effigies about as realistic as a crowd of totem poles. I can only reply that Mr. Gold is not really to blame. All those totem poles have been fathered before him by visiting Gentiles, and nursed at the breast of kindly Gentile reviewers, and all he did was to continue the breed. For centuries the Ghetto was an exotic corner of European cities, partaking of the unreality and colorfulness and crude conventionalizations of all things foreign to Gentile eyes. Out of this "conditioning" grew the "Jew," a mystical entity like the Holy Trinity, one in all and all in one, subdivided not into individuals but into the embodiments of various sentimental fancies about things Jewish. This peculiar, exoscopic romanticism was assimilated by the Western Jew with whatever language he learned, and unconsciously he got to see himself that way and, ultimately, to exploit himself that way for a receptive public. His temptation is not lessened by the fact that reviewers, quite able to hold up other fiction to some sort of aesthetic standard, would hail "Bertha, the Sewing-Machine Girl" as stark realism if it were only equipped with the proper East Side setting.

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If the Gentile, sick of such regurgitations of his own fancies, is really bent on finding out what honest-to-goodness Jews look like, act like, taste like in fiction, let him try the following recipe. Quarantine all the Jews in one country—I don't care whether it is Palestine or these United States so long as the Gentile is kept out—and confine them to a language exclusively their own—Yiddish or Hebrew or perhaps their own brand of English. Then the Jews would be forced to write for themselves for a change, instead of posturing for the Gentile. The Ghetto would no longer be a pushcart devoted to cheap literary trimmings, for its inhabitants could not go on peddling their picturesqueness to each other. The word "Jew," deflated of its rhetorical content, would cease to be a figure of speech for the convenience of literary politicians like Ludwig Lewisohn and Michael Gold and become a noun that a self-respecting artist could handle without blushing. The Jewish writer would stop regarding himself as a foreign correspondent stationed among his people and would have to satisfy a critical jury of his fellow-Jews—for whom "Jewish life" would have no news value—who would apply the same standards that American critics apply to Sherwood Anderson or Elizabeth Madox Roberts. Only under such Utopian conditions, perhaps, will the "great Jewish novel" get itself written.

It occurs to me that I have not really reviewed this book, so I will let Mr. Gold himself sum it up: "All these things happened. They were part of our daily lives, not lurid articles in a Sunday newspaper." Can it be that Mr. Gold is getting self-conscious?

ALTER BRODY

Comforting Reminiscence

Grandmother Brown's Hundred Years, 1827-1927. By Harriet Connor Brown. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

THIS volume, the $5,000 prize biography of the *Atlantic Monthly,* is almost unique. Reminiscences of the aged are common enough, of course, and some of them find their way into print, but most of the latter are concerned with life more or less completely removed from the common level, either with great events, or with participation in them, or with such bizarre maunderings as appeared in "Trader Horn." Grandmother Brown's story deals with none of these things. It is, on the contrary, an account of everyday life, of the work, play, and philosophy of an intelligent, courageous, loyal woman, the kind of life that has been duplicated, except in length, by the hundred thousand in this country. The constantly recurring round of hard work of a pioneer farmer's wife, relieved by the variety necessarily incident to bearing and raising a large family, might seem to furnish material for only a commonplace narrative. As the author handles it, however, the story is far from commonplace; it is significant and entertaining, made so both by the large element of universality and by Grandmother Brown's distinct individuality. Her portrait might be regarded as a composite picture of all who have lived through experiences similar to hers, although by no means all who have had such experiences have met them as successfully and serenely as she did.

Her mission in life was her home and her family. To these she devoted her years and her strength, and from them she drew her reward. They were her contributions to the well-being of the community. If the contributions of all individuals were equally good, she believed, many of the problems requiring the services of the reformer and uplifter would cease to exist. Like most women who have seen life as she saw it she had strong convictions, but she was never bigoted in forcing them upon others. Her philosophy was the product of her

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own observation, tinged at times with sadness but also, on occasion, with delightful humor. And not infrequently, where Grandmother Brown's own views were too earnest for her to see humor in them, her daughter-in-law author contrives skilfully to let the reader see the amusing side. "I have always felt this way," said Grandmother Brown, "that it is a woman's duty to make a happy home and teach her children to vote the Republican ticket."

The book has little to do with public affairs, but it is a very interesting contribution to the study of an important phase of American life. RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW

Drama

Nosce Te Ipsum

THE Theater Guild's experiments with standard plays have not always been among its happiest efforts, but with "A Month in the Country" (Guild Theater) it has achieved a delightful production of a delightful play. Chekhov himself never imagined a more charming group of people than that which Turgenev has here brought together, and Chekhov himself never scrutinized character with a keener or more tolerant gaze. One will look in vain for that tumultuous despair which is commonly supposed to be inevitably a part of the famous Russian soul, but one will find in its place something which is, perhaps, hardly less characteristic—a gently bubbling gaiety just tinged with melancholy and a quiet, almost elegiac beauty. These people are, to be sure, all idlers; they have eaten of some lotus and they dream their lives away, content to watch the birches grow and to speak of love. But no one ever justified idleness more completely by making it graceful, for they talk divinely about nothing in particular, and they get the full savor of the tiniest, almost non-existent adventure. After two hours in their company it seems that life could not be more profitably spent than in such doings as these.

Natalia Petrovna, married to a gentle, ineffectual country gentleman, has a lover of long standing; but when a young tutor appears in the house she confesses a penchant for him. The tutor is flattered by the favor of the great lady, and the lover, tardily scrupulous now that he has been displaced, persuades him that they should leave together. They say goodby after some nervous references to the delicacy of their honor, and the lady accepts their farewell with an irony whose delicacy makes its deadliness almost imperceptible: "I am sure that you are both honorable men—very honorable men. In fact, I think that you are the most honorable men I have ever met." And that is all, but it is quite enough. Quite enough because, I think, both the author and his creatures are so exquisitely aware of every value which the situation contains. Turgenev sees through them all. He follows every turn of every individual's psychology. But he does not see through them any more completely than they see through themselves, or know them any better than they know themselves, for it is, indeed, in learning to do just that that they seem to have spent their lives. Self-knowledge, complete in the adults, may be still growing in the youths, but as one watches the keenness with which they note their own emotions, one is sure that their experiment with living will achieve the success at which it aims. Doubtless they will never do anything, and quite probably they will be unhappy. But they will be thoroughly familiar with their own souls, and they will get the full value out of every emotion. They will see it coming, they will know when it is there, and they will reflect upon it after it has passed—even though, perchance, they have never heard of the "hard and gem-like flame."

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CENSOR

by Henry Raymond Mussey

A limited number of copies of this recent *Nation* serial are now obtainable in handy booklet form at 25 cents a copy.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York

Turgenev and Chekhov are the only writers I know who have completely justified a pause on the road which leads from tragedy to comedy. Both have reached the detached and critical intelligence which belongs to the latter. Both are completely sophisticated and, in certain senses at least, completely disillusioned. Yet neither has even approached the brittle hardness of pure comedy. Each is knowing without being quite cynical, and though neither has any lingering tendency to find cosmic significance in man or his doings yet both feel with and for him. In them human nature is neither funny nor grand, but somehow, without being either, it is charming. And that perhaps is the secret of their fascination. Here for once one does not have to make one's choice between intelligence and feeling or be put off with comedy tinged with inappropriate sentimentality. The clarity of vision is never clouded; no veils are drawn in order to make people or things seem softer than they are. And yet their little joys and little sorrows take on a significance which is more than comic.

In such a play as this, where everything depends upon the evocation of a mood, it is obvious that only the most expert acting and the most expert direction will do, but the production at the Guild Theater leaves almost nothing to be desired. Nazimova, as Natalia Petrovna, gives a finely modulated performance which seems to me quite the best she has achieved since her return to the stage; Henry Travers and Dudley Digges are very fine in comic roles; and in fact the whole cast, including Eunice Stoddard, who was seen first in "Red Rust," is excellent. Moreover, the settings, modeled by Raymond Sovey upon the designs by M. S. Dobuzhinsky for the Moscow Art Theater production of the same play, contribute much. Perhaps the garden scene reveals the weakness of all attempts to treat outdoor scenes realistically with the aid of paper flowers and poisonous-looking grass, but the empire room, done in blue, is one of the loveliest I have ever seen.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Contributors to This Issue

LOUIS FISCHER, Moscow correspondent of *The Nation*, will soon publish "The Soviet in World Affairs."

PAUL Y. ANDERSON is the national correspondent of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.

HARRY MCGUIRE, a resident of Denver, is editor of *Outdoor Life*.

LESLIE NELSON JENNINGS contributes verse to various periodicals.

JOSHUA KUNITZ is the author of "Russian Literature and the Jew."

J. FRANK DOBIE is the author of "A Vaquero of the Brush Country."

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL is professor of English literature in Loyola University and one of the editors of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*.

WILLIAM MACDONALD is a regular contributor of historical and political reviews to *The Nation* and other periodicals.

ALTER BRODY is the author of "Lamentations," a book of plays dealing with Jewish life.

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW is professor of history at Syracuse University.

WHEN changing your address for the summer, please be sure to send your old as well as your new address, and allow about two weeks for the change to be made.

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The Haiti Commission's Report

THE President's Commission for the Study and Review of Conditions in the Republic of Haiti was appointed on February 7 and consisted of the following members: W. Cameron Forbes, chairman; Henry P. Fletcher, Elie Vezina, James Kerney, and William Allen White. On February 4 President Hoover, in announcing that such a commission would be appointed, said: "The primary question which is to be investigated is when and how we are to withdraw from Haiti."

The work of the commission in Haiti was fully reported in our International Relations Section by Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, special representative of *The Nation* in Haiti. The commission's report, which was unanimous, has just been published. We print below the principal sections and the recommendations of this report.

. . . The reasons which impelled the United States to enter Haiti in 1915 are so well known that they need not be set forth in this report. Conditions were chaotic; means of communication were largely non-existent; the peasant class was impoverished; disease was general; property was menaced; and the debt of the government, indeterminate in amount, had risen—at least on paper—to staggering proportions. . . .

The commission desires to record its high praise of General Russell's whole-hearted and single-minded devotion to the interests of Haiti as he conceived them, his unremitting labor, and his patient and painstaking efforts to bring order out of chaos and to reconstruct a governmental machine which had been largely destroyed by years of abuse, incapacity, and anarchy. Since the Occupation the Haitian government, especially under President Borno, with the guidance and assistance of the American officials in its service, has a fine record. . . .

The commission was disappointed at the evidence it received of the lack of appreciation on the part of the educated and cultured Haitians of the services rendered them by the Occupation and their own government. Out of many dozen witnesses only one or two made favorable mention of the achievements of their administration. . . .

Under the American Occupation—and with its consent—the legislative chambers were dissolved in 1918, and by an interpretation of a new constitution adopted under its aegis, they have not since been reassembled. The country has been ruled by a President and a Council of State exercising, under the direction of American officials, the legislative authority. Local self-government has also largely disappeared. The important municipalities and communes are ruled by commissioners appointed by the President. The members of the Council of State itself have been appointed and removed by him. . . .

The people of Haiti, since the dissolution of the National Assembly by President D'Artiguenave, have had no popularly elected representatives in control of their government. The American Occupation has accepted—if not indeed encouraged—this state of affairs. Certainly reforms could be instituted and governmental measures carried through more easily in these circumstances, and were. The acts and attitude of the treaty officials gave your commission the impression that they had been based upon the assumption that the Occupation would continue indefinitely. . . . The commission was disappointed to find that the preparation for the political and administrative training of Haitians for the responsibilities of government had been inadequate. . . .

The commission is not convinced that the foundations for democratic and representative government are now broad enough in Haiti. The educated public opinion and literate minority are so small that any government formed in these circumstances is liable to become an oligarchy. The literate few too often look to public office as a means of livelihood. Until the basis of political structure is broadened by education—a matter of years—the government must necessarily be more or less unstable and in constant danger of political upheavals.

The commission is of the opinion that the progressive steps looking toward the withdrawal of the assistance now being given by the American Occupation should be taken on the theory and understanding that the present treaty will remain in force until 1936, it being understood that such modifications as circumstances require and the two governments agree upon may be made at any time. It is too early to suggest in what form the American Occupation should be liquidated upon the expiration of the treaty or in what form such further aid and assistance as the Haitian government might desire from the United States should be provided. . . . The commission recommends the gradual reduction of the marine brigade if and as, in the judgment of the two governments, the political situation warrants. . . .

It is obvious that after the withdrawal of the American forces, the orderly functioning of the Haitian government will depend in large measure upon the efficiency and discipline of the Garde. The primary and principal duty of the Garde—the maintenance of law and order—has been well and conscientiously performed. The replacement of American officers of the Garde by Haitians, contemplated by the treaty, has not been carried out, however, as rapidly as, in the opinion of the commission, it should have been done. There is not now and there never has been a Haitian officer of the Garde above the grade of captain. There are now but 2 Haitian captains on duty with troops out of a total of 23, 17 Haitian first lieutenants out of a total of 58, 19 Haitian second lieutenants out of a total of 57, and 28 aspirant officers (cadets), all of whom are Haitians.

. . . The commandant of the Garde testified that American officers serving with the Garde could be transferred back to the Marine Corps at any time to make room for the promotion of Haitians, and this should be done where vacancies occurring in the ordinary course are not sufficient to give the opportunity for a faster promotion of Haitians. Notwithstanding the fact that there are a number of American non-commissioned officers serving as company officers in the Garde who have rendered fine service for from eight to fourteen and one-half years, not one of them has ever been promoted above the grade of captain in the Haitian Garde. The commission believes that some of these men are at least as well fitted by training and experience to be promoted to field rank as marine officers who have not had their experience in Haiti. . . .

The financial achievement of the American administration is noteworthy. . . . Some witnesses who appeared before your commission criticized the financial management of the government and even went so far as to charge improprieties in connection with it. Many complained that they were kept in ignorance as to how their money was collected and how spent. This shows that they had not read the careful reports issued by the Financial Adviser in both English and French. . . .

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Of *The Nation,* published weekly, Wednesday at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1930.

State of New York } ss.
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Oswald Garrison Villard, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor and Publisher of *The Nation* and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of March, 1930.

MARY E. O'BRIEN

My commission expires March 30, 1930.
(Seal)

revenues in excess of the amount called for by the amortization plan. The wisdom of this course is open to question; it might have been better to have reduced the taxation, especially the export tax, and left the debt to work itself out during its normal term, thus keeping more money in the country where experience has shown it was badly needed. Little by little the American Occupation has extended its intervention in the financial operation of Haiti, until 60 per cent of the revenues are now expended under American supervision, including the Service of the Public Debt. . . .

Friction between the Haitian courts and the American treaty officials has arisen at various times because, on the one hand, the courts have refused to enforce or have obstructed the execution of certain administrative measures and because, on the other, the treaty officials have refused to obey the orders of the court on the ground that the treaty is the law of the land and its observance and the agencies set up by it cannot be obstructed or interfered with by the judiciary. The question raised is delicate but goes to the heart of our treaty relations with Haiti, and the commission recommends that in case of future conflict of authority on this score the matter be settled by direct negotiations between the two governments. . . .

One accusation persistently brought against the American intervention concerns the inserting in the constitution of 1918 of an article granting to foreigners the right to take title to Haitian land. It is evident that the change has produced much irritation and suspicion. From the inception of the Republic in 1804, the Haitians had consistently excluded foreigners from owning real property, and in the face of such a tradition it was unfortunate to have had the land policy altered under American auspices. The commission recommends, in case the Haitian people desire to amend this provision, that our government make no objection thereto, merely limiting itself to seeing that rights and titles acquired under the present constitution—which are comparatively few—be respected. The commission found no instance of undue advantage having been taken by Americans of the clause enabling foreigners to acquire real estate. . . .

Race antipathies lie behind many of the difficulties which the United States military and civil forces have met in Haiti. The race situation there is unique; the Negro race after more than a century of freedom has developed a highly cultured, highly sophisticated, race-conscious leadership. This group, which is proud to be known as the "Elite," forms the governing class. . . . Their language is French. Their Catholicism is French. The masses of Haiti are poor and ignorant. Generally speaking, they are of pure African descent. Illiteracy keeps the peasant masses politically inarticulate, except in case of mobs or bandit gangs, which formerly infested the countryside and often furnished the forces of revolution. These bandit gangs have been broken up and have disappeared under American rule, but the social forces that created them still remain—poverty, ignorance, and the lack of a tradition or desire for orderly free government. . . . The failure of the Occupation to understand the social problems of Haiti, its brusque attempt to plant democracy there by drill and harrow, its determination to set up a middle class—however wise and necessary it may seem to Americans—all these explain why, in part, the high hopes of our good works have not been realized. . . .

The commission recommends:

1. That the detail of naval and marine officers for all Haitian services be made for a minimum of four years and that an effort be made to secure Americans who will agree to continue employment in these services, so that upon the expiration of the treaty a force of American doctors, engineers, and police officers will be available for continued assistance to the Haitian government, should it then desire it;

2. That, if possible, some form of continuing appropriation for roads be urged for expenditure by the Haitian govern-

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ment, with a policy that will provide enough funds to keep all existing roads in suitable repair before any new construction is undertaken; also in regard to further construction that only roads most urgently needed to develop regions now settled . . . be undertaken until the present economic depression has passed;

3. That the United States interpose no objections to a moderate reduction of the customs duties, internal revenue taxes, especially those imposed upon alcohol and tobacco, or to a reduction or elimination of the export tax on coffee, if the condition of the Treasury so warrants;

4. That it be suggested to the Haitian government that it employ one American adviser in each administrative department of the government to perform such work as the respective cabinet minister may delegate to him, these officers to give expert advice and assistance to the Haitian government; . . .

5. That, as an act of graciousness on the part of the United States, a moderate appropriation be made available during the continuance of the treaty to defray the cost of American civil officials in the Haitian government service;

6. That an appointment of a military attache be made to the legation when the time shall have arrived for a minister to replace the high commissioner, as the question of the preservation of order is of first importance. . . .

Complying with your instructions to suggest sequent steps to be taken with respect to the Haitian situation your commission offers the following:

1. That the President declare that the United States will approve a policy, the details of which all the United States officials in Haiti are directed to assist in working out, providing for an increasingly rapid Haitianization of the services with the object of having Haitians experienced in every department of the government ready to take over full responsibility at the expiration of the existing treaty;

2. That in retaining officers now in the Haitian service, or selecting new Americans for employment therein, the utmost care be taken that only those free from strong racial antipathies should be preferred;

3. That the United States recognize the temporary President when elected, provided the election is in accordance with the agreement reached by your commission with President Borno and the leaders representing the Opposition;

4. That the United States recognize the President elected by the new legislature, acting as a National Assembly, provided that neither force nor fraud has been used; . . .

5. That at the expiration of General Russell's tour of duty in Haiti, and in any such event not before the inauguration of the permanent President, the office of High Commissioner be abolished and a non-military Minister appointed to take over his duties; . . .

6. That whether or not a certain loss of efficiency is entailed, the new Minister to Haiti be charged with the duty of carrying out the early Haitianization of the services called for in the declaration of the President of the United States above recommended;

7. That, as the commission found the immediate withdrawal of the marines inadvisable, it recommends their gradual withdrawal in accordance with arrangements to be made in future agreement between the two governments;

8. That the United States limit its intervention in Haitian affairs definitely to those activities for which provision is made for American assistance by treaty or by specific agreement between the two governments;

9. That the new Minister be charged with the duty of negotiating with the Haitian government further modifications of the existing treaty and agreements providing for less intervention in Haitian domestic affairs and defining the conditions under which the United States would lend its assistance in the restoration of order or maintenance of credit.

BEGINNING NEXT WEEK

The Press Today

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Thursday, April 10
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
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